

## I. INTRODUCTION

### 1. 'OLD ASSYRIAN'

'Old' in 'Old Assyrian' is a chronological label, which applies to the earliest phase of the culture of ancient Assur that is historically sufficiently recoverable to be called Assyrian. 'Assyrian' here does not refer to Assyria as a territorial state, which only took shape after the period we are dealing with, but to the city of Assur, the core of a small city-state. 'Old Assyrian' therefore characterizes its culture during the first centuries of the second millennium BC, when it exhibited a set of distinctive features in the areas of political institutions, economic structures, law, religion, language, and art, which set it off sufficiently from the preceding Ur III empire, contemporary Babylonia and the following Middle Assyrian period.

Assur of course was much older, going back to the middle of the third millennium BC, when its Ištar temple arose on the sandstone of the mountain ridge on which the city was built.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of the traditions embodied in the beginning of the Assyrian King List (AKL),<sup>2</sup> its mention of Ušpia (no. 16), remembered as early builder of the temple of Assur,<sup>3</sup> and a few early inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> little is known of this 'Early Assyrian Period'. It was, moreover, a period during which the city for long periods was dominated by the powerful Old Akkadian and Ur III states.<sup>5</sup> Assur only becomes liable for historical analysis after ca. 2000 BC, when enough written sources are available.

These sources, as will be elaborated below, derive only to a very limited extent from discoveries made in Assur itself, where the strata of the Old Assyrian period were only reached in some areas of the upper city, and practically no archival texts were discovered. Moreover, later construction has obliterated much of the architecture of the so-called old palace and the early phases of temple of Assur,<sup>6</sup> and only few royal inscriptions came to light.<sup>7</sup> Nearly all the written evidence, and also a wealth of

<sup>1</sup> See for this temple now Bär 2003.

<sup>2</sup> The first group of rulers listed in the AKL, "who lived in tents", apart from nos. 16 and 17(?), have no historical relation with Assur and are "a disjointed list of Amorite tribal-geographical names .... representing the Amoritic nomadic origin of Šamši-Adad's family" (Yamada 1994, 16).

<sup>3</sup> In an inscription of Šalmaneser I, *RIMA* 1, 185, line 113. Van Driel 1969, 1f., considers the possibility that his mention as early builder (and perhaps also his inclusion in AKL - K.R.V.) derives from oral tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Those of Ititi, Azuzu and Zariqum (*RIMA* 1 A.O.1001-1003). Ititi, whose title is written PA (for *waklum*?) and who records a successful campaign against Gasur (later Nuzi), may have been an independent ruler of the city, perhaps in the period between the Old Akkadian and the Ur III empires. Azuzu, who dedicated a spearhead for the life of king Manišusu, is without title, but may have been a local governor, like Zariqum, who was governor of Assur under kings Šulgi and Amar-Suen or Ur III. None of the three is mentioned in AKL, the last two perhaps because they were no independent rulers.

<sup>5</sup> I refer to the analysis by Larsen 1976, part 1, ch. 1, 'The Origins', which is still basically valid.

<sup>6</sup> See for a short presentation of the archaeological data, Marzahn - Salje 2003, 111-28.

<sup>7</sup> Edited in *RIMA* 1, 14-18, 22-51, 60-63, and 77-78. The pages not listed contain inscriptions found elsewhere, in Kanesh, Ninive, and Mari. The inscription recording building activity by "Išme-Dagan, son of Šamši-

impressions of Old Assyrian cylinder seals, was discovered in the Old Assyrian trading colony (called *kārum*) at the city of Kanesh in Central Anatolia, which flourished during what are called *kārum* Kanesh levels II and Ib. Level II contains abundant evidence of Assyrians presence and activity, documented in close to one hundred houses, most of which contained the archives of their inhabitants, which have thus far yielded in all ca. 22.000 cuneiform tablets. Ca. thirty-five years after the destruction and desertion of level II (ca. 1835 BC according to the Middle Chronology) the colony revived in level Ib, but with a reduced Assyrian presence and activity (and hence only a few hundred texts), while many houses now belong to non-Assyrian, presumably native Anatolian traders.

However rich this documentation, especially from level II, part of which (in particular letters) also originated from Assur itself, it focuses on the trade and its administrative and legal implications. Many aspects of life in ancient Assur, the temples, the palace, the ruler, the people and economy apart from the trade, etc., remain in the shadow and are not easily reconstructed. This explains why we end up with a somewhat biased picture of Old Assyrian history, culture and society, which leaves large gaps in our knowledge.

### 1.1. THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The Old Assyrian period starts when the state of Ur III, around 2025 BC (middle chronology), a few years after the accession of Ib-bi-Suen, lost its administrative grip on what has been called its periphery or "the defense zone", to which the city of Assur belonged.<sup>8</sup> Soon Assur, which had been ruled by a royally appointed governor, designated both as *l ú* or *é n s i* *Aššur<sup>ki</sup>*, "the man / governor of Assur",<sup>9</sup> became an independent city-state under its own rulers. These rulers, members of the so-called "Puzur-Aššur dynasty" (named after Puzur-Aššur I, king 30 of AKL), were now considered to be "governors" (*é n s i* = *iššiakkum*) appointed by the god Assur, who was the true king of the city, as expressed on the seal of Šilulu and in an inscription of Erišum.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, over the next century, the spelling *Aššur<sup>ki</sup>* in the ruler's title, which, following Ur III usage, referred to his realm, was replaced by *dAššur*, to express that he was primarily an appointee of the god Assur, after whom the city was named.<sup>11</sup> Assur's new independence must have increased the prestige and power of the temple of the city-god, who had asked Šalim-ahum to build it (*RIMA* 1, 14), and with which the ruler

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Adad", on which his mention by Enlil-nāšir I (*RIMA* 1, 95, 7) was based, has not been found, and the question is which Išme-Dagan is meant, I (king 40) or II (king 58). The existence of namesakes, sons and once a father of a Šamši-Adad, is confusing, also for the ancients, as shown by the presumably mistaken "Distanzangabe" of Tiglath-Pileser I (*RIMA* 2, 29, VIII:2f.), see Eder 2004, 208. See for the early royal inscriptions of Assur also Galter 1997.

<sup>8</sup> See Sallaberger 1999, 161 with note 136.

<sup>9</sup> See Maeda 1992, 149f., on Zariq(um).

<sup>10</sup> See *RIMA* 1, 13 and 21 lines 35f. Larsen 1976, 114, compares the inscriptions on royal seals from Eshnunna and calls attention to the fact that in Assur the relation between city-god and the ruler is again conceived along lines of the early city-states of southern Mesopotamia. Galter 1997, 55f., points out that in the statement that a ruler of Assur built a temple or made a dedication "for the well-being of himself and of his city" (*ana balāṭišu u balāt ālišu*), the city now appears prominently.

<sup>11</sup> See Galter 1996.

appears to have been closely associated<sup>12</sup>, while the palace does not appear in the written documentation. It also lead to a dominant administrative role for the "City (Assembly; *ālum*), with its "City Hall" (*bēt ālim*) controlled by the eponymic *limum*.

The Old Assyrian period is also characterized by the emergence of the Old Assyrian dialect, specific types of written records, a native Assyrian calendar, a brisk international trade, a body of legal customs and rulings, a different style of cylinder seals, and various other cultural features. I use the term 'emergence', because some of these features may not have been completely new or may have developed gradually after the city had become independent. Existing native features may have been obscured by the dominant Sumerian administrative practices of the Ur III state or have remained invisible for us due to the lack of written documentation from Assur before ca. 2000 BC.<sup>13</sup> The Old Assyrian dialect, which developed out of Old Akkadian, may have received its distinctive traits during the last centuries of the third millennium BC, but its specific writing conventions (both its syllabary and its orthography) apparently took at least a century to fully develop the peculiarities which we consider typically 'Old Assyrian'.<sup>14</sup> The iconography and style of the so-called 'Old Assyrian seals' according to specialists show links with the Ur III glyptic, perhaps due to "the impetus given to local manufacture at the time of Assur's dominance by the Ur III empire".<sup>15</sup> Judging from the available epigraphic and archaeological evidence the flourishing trade on Anatolia, together with the institution of the annually appointed *limum*, only took shape during the second half of the 20th century BC, probably when Erišum I was ruler of Assur.

Whatever the origin and development of these features, their sum made ancient Assur sufficiently different from contemporary Babylonia to justify the use of 'Old Assyrian' as a cultural label, derived from Aššur, the local god, originally probably the deified local mountain range,<sup>16</sup> and the name of his city. This would have been impossible without the participation of Assur's citizens, especially the prominent families which, as soon as we can trace their history, play an important role in the City Assembly and through the office of the eponymous *limum*. Assur's distinctive character, under a native dynasty, was maintained when in the south (including Eshnunna), after the collapse of the Ur III empire, Amorite elements came to play a prominent role, also in the political power structure. Lewy's attempts to discover a variety of ethnic and religious Amorite features in Assur

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<sup>12</sup> See now also Galter 2004. Rulers in their letters regularly promise that they will intercede with Aššur on behalf of their correspondents (*mahar Aššur karābum* with personal dative suffix, see Larsen 1976, 119f.).

<sup>13</sup> We have no information on the origin of so-called 'Old Assyrian Calendar', with months apparently named after cultic and seasonal features (Lewy 1939; *RIA* 5, 1976-1980, 301, § 3.4; M.E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda, 1993, 237-46), first attested around 1900 BC and still in use during the Middle Assyrian period. It may have been an Old Assyrian creation, but also have had earlier roots.

<sup>14</sup> See for the peculiarities of the syllabary, Larsen 1976, 144 with note 109; Veenhof 1982, 365, with note 14; and Veenhof 2003, 12.

<sup>15</sup> Teissier 1994, 52f., § 7.3. Seals of people of status, in particular, show introduction scenes derived from the Ur III tradition, but there was also "a progressive interaction with Anatolian, Syro-Cappadocian and Old Babylonian groups". She doubts the Syrian origin of the Old Assyrian linear style.

<sup>16</sup> See for the nature of Aššur, Hirsch 1972, 6-16, Larsen 1976, 29f. (on mount Abeh), Lambert 1983, and Veenhof 1993, 652 with pl. 124.

are not convincing and the number of clearly Amorite personal names is extremely small.

Lewy 1961, in a study entitled 'Amurritica', considered the veneration of the god Amurru, at times designated as "the god of my father", as proof 'Amorite' influence. But this is not warranted, because Amurru had already been well accepted into the Mesopotamian pantheon, and there is no Assyrian qualified as "Amorite" (DUMU MAR.TU) in his seal inscription,<sup>17</sup> since we have to read DUMU MAR.TU-[*ba-ni*], "son of Amuru-bāni", as shown by his completely preserved seal impression on kt n/k 1821 (courtesy V. Donbaz). Lewy also believed that the god An(ḥ)a was "an Old West Semitic god" and "a deity of immigrants from the "Western Land" (Lewy 1961, 37 and 41), but this cannot be maintained. The texts acquaint with a local Anatolian god of that name (spelled *A-na*, *A-na-a*, and *An-na*, occasionally also with the divine determinative), who had a priest (TC 3, 181:18, kt 89/k 376:4) and a temple in Kanesh (kt 87/k 39:25), by whom the oath was sworn in ICK 1, 32 and Prag I 651,<sup>18</sup> and whose festival figures as a due date for the payment of debts by local Anatolians.<sup>19</sup> The "priest of Anna", who occurs in TC 3, 181:8, bears the name *A-zu* and to all appearances was an Anatolian indebted to an Assyrian trader.

This does not mean that the Assyrian community did not comprise non-Assyrians. We meet them, recognizable by their names or the nisbe added to it, and even among the (early) eponyms Assur there are a man from Nērabtum and a *hapirum* (with a good Akkadian name; KEL nos. 44 and 49), but they remain exceptions.<sup>20</sup> On the whole, as reflected by the large corpus of personal names, the city apparently remained ethnically fairly uniform. It may help to explain the outburst of Puzur-Sin, a later (17th century BC?) ruler of Assur, who voices<sup>21</sup> his repugnance against what had been built by a predecessor, offspring of Šamši-Adad I, "of foreign stock(?), no flesh of the city of Assur", though we cannot isolate it from his indignation about the fact that for this project "sacred places" (*ešrātum*) of the city had been demolished.

## 1.2. FROM OLD ASSYRIAN TO MIDDLE ASSYRIAN

Marking the Old Assyrian period off against the following Middle Assyrian period is not easy. This is due to the lack of Assyrian historical data for the 'dark ages' between the end of the eighteenth and the end of the fifteenth century BC, when Assur had been able to free itself from political domination by or influence of the Mitanni state, which had culminated in the conquest of Assur by king Saūstatar.<sup>22</sup> The conquest of Babylon by

<sup>17</sup> On the envelope of AAA I/3 no. 10, as stated in Lewy 1961, 39.

<sup>18</sup> In the oath in ICK 1, 32:10ff., by Aššur, Anna and the ruler, one might take Anna was an Assyrian god, but in Prag I 651:12'ff. (a divorce in Kanesh), the oath is by Aššur, Anna, the ruler, and the *rabi sikkatim*, where Aššur and the ruler are Assyrian and Anna and the *rabi sikkatim* Anatolian. These occurrences suggest that Anna was the city-god of Kanesh.

<sup>19</sup> See below, VI.2.1, no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> There are a few persons with Hurrian names and people like Pilah-Adad, designated as "the man from Tadmur" (see Dercksen 1996, 163f.).

<sup>21</sup> In his inscription RIMA 1, 77f.

<sup>22</sup> See G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter* (Darmstadt 1982) 37, and C. Kühne, Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction, in: D.I. Owen and G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*, SCCHN 10 (Bethesda, 1999), 203-222, esp. 215ff.

the Hittite king Mursilis I (in 1595 BC), which spelled the end of the so-called Hammurabi dynasty, probably did not have a serious impact on Assur and therefore cannot serve as time limit. Domination by Mitanni must have left traces, but they are not easily detected or distinguished from native developments,<sup>23</sup> and there was also cultural and administrative continuity with the Old Assyrian period.<sup>24</sup>

Historians usually let the Middle Assyrian Period start in the second half of the fifteenth century BC, when documentation - both archival texts and some royal inscriptions, beginning with those of king 59, Šamši-Adad III - resumes. But for lack of data it is not easy to say what was then new or different, apart from the fact that the city was enlarged by adding the southern "new town" (*ālum eššum*), whose walls were constructed by Puzur-Aššur III.<sup>25</sup> The city also became the capital of a territorial state, whose rulers now called themselves "king of the land of Assur (*māt Aššur*)", and would soon join the "club of the great powers" of the Amarna Age, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Looking for the transition between 'Old' and 'Middle Assyrian', we would like to be guided by the Assyrian historical tradition, embodied in AKL. But this tradition becomes confused towards the end of the 18th century BC, with different versions of the list, none of which seems to know (or acknowledge) the above mentioned king Puzur-Sîn, son of Aššur-bēl-šamē, and his hated predecessor Asinum, "offspring of Šamši-Adad".<sup>26</sup> It is possible that with king 48, Bēlu-bāni, the first ruler of what has been called "the dynasty of the Adasides" (Esarhaddon was the first to refer to Adasi as his ancestor), a new historical phase was inaugurated, but we have no idea what might have changed apart from the ruling dynasty. However long the interval between Išme-Dagan (and his son Mut-Ašqur) and Bēlu-bāni may have been - Eder, on the basis of the Assyrian "Distanzangaben" assumes it to have been ca. 125 years,<sup>27</sup> - it would mean a caesura somewhere in the second half of 17th century BC. But lack of inscriptional evidence before king 59 (Šamši-Adad III) does not allow us to take Bēlu-bāni's accession as the beginning of the so-called Middle Assyrian Period, which anyhow is a modern concept, only applicable from the second half of the fifteenth century BC onwards.<sup>28</sup> We can only conclude that for the historian the Old Assyrian period *de facto* ends somewhere during the last quarter of the 18th century BC, when a "dark period" starts.

### 1.3. ŠAMŠI-ADAD'S CONQUEST OF ASSUR

<sup>23</sup> According to von Soden 1963, 134, "darf es als sicher gelten, dass der Charakter der führenden Schicht in Assur am Ende dieser Zeit (i.e. that of the Hurrian domination - K.R.V.) ein andere geworden war als noch zur Zeit Šamši-Adad's I.", by which he means much more military, ruthless and imperialistic, possibly also due to the incorporation of many people of Hurrian descent.

<sup>24</sup> See for continuity and change in respect to role of the "City Hall" of Assur, Dercksen 2004a, 10ff.

<sup>25</sup> See *RIMA* 1, 100, 5f. The mention of the "new city" in *RIMA* 1, 80:7 is not certain.

<sup>26</sup> See *RIMA* 1, 77f, and for the confusing traditions, Eder 2004, esp. 209-12.

<sup>27</sup> Eder 2004, 205ff. He believes that the 40 (sic, see his note 44) years of reign assigned to Išme-Dagan by AKL refer to the length of his rule after Šamši-Adad's death, which I still consider doubtful.

<sup>28</sup> See Veenhof 1982, 363, with note 4, for attempts to apply the label "early Middle Assyrian".

The change from capital of a city-state to one of a territorial state, which probably marks the Middle Assyrian period, was not a completely new one. Something similar already had taken place in 1808/7 BC, when Šamši-Adad I conquered Assur. The city now became part of what has been called the "Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia" and dependent on a powerful ruler, by origin "king of Ekallātum".<sup>29</sup> He added "governor of divine Assur" (*iššiak dAššur*) and "beloved of Assur" (*narām dAššur*) to his titles and observed his royal duties by building (restoring) the temple of the city-god<sup>30</sup> and caring for its cult.<sup>31</sup> The prestige of the city and of being its ruler also must have made him (or his successor) insert his name and genealogy in the city's king list. But, though calling Assur "my city",<sup>32</sup> he did not make it his capital and he was not a native Assyrian ("not of the flesh of the City of Assur"), as the later Assyrian king Puzur-Sin reminds us. He made his influence felt, a. o. by having his son and successor appointed as *limu*-eponym, which none of Assur's earlier rulers has done.<sup>33</sup> His reign also sees an increase of influence from the south, noticeable in his use of the Babylonian dialect,<sup>34</sup> also in his building inscription for the ancient temple of the god Aššur, whom he presents as the Assyrian Enlil by calling it Enlil's temple.

Under Šamši-Adad's successor, Išme-Dagan, the city continued to play an important role in the trade in Northern Mesopotamia and beyond.<sup>35</sup> His dynastic capital Ekallātum was not far from Assur and several letters show that he occasionally stayed in the city, cared for its cults,<sup>36</sup> and later Assyrian royal inscriptions tell us that he was also active as a builder.<sup>37</sup> This concern was politically sensible, since he used Assur's troops in his

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<sup>29</sup> See Ziegler 2002, esp. 212-220; the text where Daduša designates Šamši-Adad (*Sa-am-se-e-dIM*) as "king of Ekallātum" is now available in *BaMitt.* 34 (2003) 146, col. X:9-10. Ziegler 2002, 212, considers the possibility that Ekallātum was a new name, given to his residence as a seat of royal power, avoiding Assur, the "divine city" (usually simply called "the city", *ālum*), where the god Assur was king and the ruler his "governor". This could only be true if Ekallātum was not the original seat of his dynasty, an issue which is still disputed (see Charpin 2004, 148 for the various proposals). One early letter (Charpin 2004, 134) indicates that his realm was called "the land of the Tigris" and AKL states that Ekallātum was conquered three years before Assur, probably a recapture, after Šamši-Adad had given it up due to the pressure of Narām-Sin of Eshnunna, which made him seek asylum in Babylonia (see Veenhof 2003, 61).

<sup>30</sup> Calling himself *bāni bēt Aššur*. See for his titles and inscriptions mentioning work at Assur, *RIMA* 1, A.O.39, nos. 1, 9, 10 (see now the edition in Tunca 1989), and 11, and p. 228, col. III. His work at the ziqurrats of the Anu-Adad temple is mentioned by Šamši-Adad III, see *RIMA* 1, 81, 1001.

<sup>31</sup> See the letter A 2703 edited in Ziegler 2002, 214ff.

<sup>32</sup> *RIMA* 1, 49f, lines 35, 56, and 78.

<sup>33</sup> See Veenhof 1982, 385.

<sup>34</sup> See for the innovations introduced by him also Galter 1997, 55.

<sup>35</sup> See Ziegler 1996 and Charpin-Durand 1997, 376f.

<sup>36</sup> See Charpin-Durand 1997, 372f.

<sup>37</sup> See *RIMA* 1, 95, lines 6ff. It is frequently assumed that when Tiglath-pileser I, in *RIMA* 2, 28, lines 60ff., states that the Anu-Adad temple had been built 701 years before his time by Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagan, this is a mistake for Išme-Dagan son of Šamši-Adad I, though *RIMA* takes the builder to be Šamši-Adad III.

military operations,<sup>38</sup> but it may have been stimulated by the fact that his wife, called Lamassi-Aššur, was from Assur, perhaps even a member of the family of rulers ousted by Šamši-Adad I.<sup>39</sup> Assur also shared his political misfortunes, when he had to flee his country and capital three times, in 1771 (when Eshnunna occupied Assur),<sup>40</sup> in 1765 and in 1763 BC.<sup>41</sup>

In 1761 BC by Hammurabi of Babylon according the name of his 33rd year, subjugated "various cities of the land of Šubartum and Ekallātum", a success which was consolidated by additional campaigns in his 36th and 39th years. It must have included Assur, to judge from a statement in the prologue to his laws (col. IV:53-58), where he expresses his concern for the city and its people,<sup>42</sup> but we lack any concrete information of what happened. Eder believes that Išme-Dagan, whom he assigns a forty years reign (1776-1738 BC), after a short interregnum during the final years of Hammurabi, again entered his capital and even developed "eine rege Bautätigkeit" in Assur,<sup>43</sup> but we lack all evidence for this reconstruction.

After that, during the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon (1750-1712 BC), the information on the city becomes scarce, although AKL lists a continuous series of rulers.<sup>44</sup> But we have evidence for the continued role of Assur as a trading city, both from documents found at Sippar, dating to the early years of Samsu-iluna, and from the treaty concluded around 1740 BC between Till-Abnū, the ruler of Apūm (capital Šehna = Tell Leilan) and Assur.<sup>45</sup> That Apūm's ruler had to swear an oath to "the city of (the god) Assur, the citizens of Assur traveling up or down, and the *kārum* that is in your city" shows that the institutional fabric (without mention of a king or ruler!) was basically still the same as a century earlier and that trade remained very important. But this is close to the time when all documentation, apart from the confused traditions of AKL, stops, also that supplied by the texts discovered in *kārum* Kanesh level Ib.

#### 1.4. 'LATER OLD ASSYRIAN'

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. ARMT 26, 411:32, together with troops of Babylon and Ekallātum, under the command of his son Mut-Asqur.

<sup>39</sup> See for her letters P. Mareello, *MARI* 7 (1993) 271-279.

<sup>40</sup> See Ziegler 2002, 238f., with note 114.

<sup>41</sup> See Charpin-Durand 1997, 372 note 43, and Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 198 and 235f., also on the role of Assur's "Overseer of the merchants" during the absence of Išme-Dagan.

<sup>42</sup> The words "who guides the population (*ammi*) properly and who restores its benevolent protective spirit to the city of Assur", whatever they meant in concrete, attest to his respect for this ancient city.

<sup>43</sup> Eder 2004, 208f., who ignores the impact of Hammurabi's conquest of Ekallātum in 1761 BC.

<sup>44</sup> The main recension of AKL, 'King List 9', after Išme-Dagan lists an usurpator and six kings who ruled for short or unknown periods (*bāb tuppišu*). A fragment of a different recension (Grayson 1981, 115, sKing List 10S), mentions as successors of Išme-Dagan his son Mut-Asqur (known from sources from Mari) and a Rimu[š], both of which do not figure in 'King List 9'. AKL also does not include Puzur-Sin, who is known from his inscription *RIMA* 1, 77f.

<sup>45</sup> See for the evidence from Sippar, Veenhof 1991, and for the treaty with Apūm, Eidem 1991.

It is clear that the conquest of Assur by Šamši-Adad I in ca. 1807/8 BC is the most important event during the ca. three centuries of the Old Assyrian period we can follow. But there was also another break, for the evidence brought to light in *kārum* Kanesh shows that the flourishing trading colony of level II came to a violent end in ca. 1837 BC. This not only means that we lack written sources for the next decades, but it must also have had a serious impact on Assur itself.<sup>46</sup> The colony was rebuilt in the so-called phase *kārum* Ib, after an interval of perhaps ca. 35 years and this resumption of the commercial activities therefore must have taken place during the reign of Šamši-Adad I. We have only ca. 340 cuneiform tablets from this phase of the *kārum*, but the information they provide can be supplemented by the textual evidence for Assyrian presence at Hattuša, Amkuwa (Alisar Hüyük) and Acemhöyük (equated by some with ancient Buruṣhaddum).<sup>47</sup> Among them are a few very important texts, such as the new eponym list mentioned above, a letter written shortly after the accession of Išme-Dagan by the authorities in Assur to *kārum* Kanesh, and two treaties concluded between the Assyrians and Kanesh and Hahhum.<sup>48</sup> Together with the texts from this period discovered at Mari, Tuttul, Qaṭṭarā, Ṣehna, and Šuṣarrā, they allow us to recover something of Assur's history during the tumultuous 18th century BC. The new eponym lists indicates that the period of *kārum* level Ib continued until at least 1725 BC, and probably a few years longer, because the last eponym it mentions does not necessarily coincide with the end of the Assyrians presence in Kanesh.

Considering the developments inaugurated by Šamši-Adad's conquest, the gap in the documentation from *kārum* Kanesh, and the restart around 1800 BC, it is useful to keep this period apart and label it as "Later Old Assyrian". This label was already used in the edition of legal documents of that period,<sup>49</sup> and proposed by E. Porada for the contemporary Old Assyrian seals,<sup>50</sup> the iconography and style of which indeed evokes comparison with Babylonian seals from the reign of Samsu-iluna.<sup>51</sup> In Assur itself the label might also be applied to the 17th and perhaps the 16th century BC, depending on when we believe the Middle Assyrian period has started.

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<sup>46</sup> Even if the destruction of *kārum* Kanesh should turn out to be a regional event and a number of other colonies continued to function.

<sup>47</sup> See now Dercksen 2001a.

<sup>48</sup> See Michel 2005 and Donbaz 2005, and below V.2. Note also the interesting text published in Dercksen-Donbaz 2001.

<sup>49</sup> By Gelb-Sollberger 1957, and Veenhof 1982.

<sup>50</sup> Porada 1980, 385

<sup>51</sup> N. Özgüç 1968, 59ff.



## 2. CHRONOLOGY

### 2.1 THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD IN GENERAL

The chronology of the Old Assyrian period for a long time has been uncertain. The numbers of the regnal years of several early rulers of Assur are missing or damaged in the copies of AKL we know and we lacked a list of *limu*-eponyms, whose terms of office were used to date records. Without such a list we could only start from the total number of eponyms actually attested and try to reconstruct their order on the basis of archival texts, and it remained difficult to estimate the length of the period covered by *kārum* Kanesh level II and the size of the gap between levels II and Ib, the existence of which was demonstrated by stratigraphy.

Much has changed by the publication, in 2003, of the 'Kültepe Eponym List' (KEL),<sup>52</sup> which acquaints us with a sequence of 129 *limu*-eponyms. The few gaps in it could be restored thanks to the "Mari Eponym Chronicle",<sup>53</sup> the beginning of which overlaps with the end of KEL. Fortunately KEL also links the accession of a new ruler in Assur (called "the *waklum*, our lord") with particular eponyms, which allows a restoration of several figures in AKL. Moreover, the overlap with MEC reveals that the gap between *kārum* Kanesh levels II and Ib starts with MEC sequence B no. 5, which is eponym 137 after the accession of Erišum I.<sup>54</sup> Since none of the next twenty eponyms listed in MEC is known from Kanesh, the gap must have covered a few decades, but we cannot yet establish when exactly *kārum* level Ib started.

These new insights can be refined when a new eponymy list, discovered in 2001, will have been published by C. Günbattli. Starting with eponymy 110 it overlaps with the end of KEL and continues with an additional ca. 120 year eponyms. This brings us down to ca. 1725-1720 BC and shows that the "Later Old Assyrian period" of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib must have lasted at least 80 years.<sup>55</sup>

The discovery of KEL and its correlation with MEC shows that the figure of 40 years given in AKL for Erišum I is correct, and it also proves that the so-called "Distanzangaben" in later Assyrian building inscriptions, which give or imply a temporal distance of 199 years between the accession of Erišum I and the death of Šamši-Adad I, are correct. This makes it possible to link the Old Assyrian chronology with that of Babylonia, via the date of Šamši-Adad's death, which occurred in 1776 BC, the 18th year of Hammurabi of Babylon, the 4th year of Ibal-pī-El II of Eshnunna.<sup>56</sup> This means that the rule of Erišum I started in 1974 BC, which is also the year when the institution of the annually appointed *limu*-eponym was introduced, since all five manuscripts of this list start in that year. The lack of earlier eponyms explains why AKL is unable to give the

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<sup>52</sup> Veenhof 2003.

<sup>53</sup> Edited in Birot 1985.

<sup>54</sup> The new eponym list, as C. Günbattli kindly told me, reveals that the gap between the end of KEL and the beginning of sequence B of MEC contains not four (as I had suggested) but only three year eponyms, those numbered D, A and C (in that sequence, hence to be counted as nos. 130-132) in Veenhof 2003, 56. This means that the end of *kārum* level II came during eponymy no. 137, in 1737 BC, just three years before the accession (in Ekallātum?) of Šamši-Adad I.

<sup>55</sup> The list is badly written and presents problems, also because the eponyms during which, according to AKL, Šamši-Adad I conquered Ekallātum and Assur do not seem to figure in it.

<sup>56</sup> In month XII of the Assyrian eponymy year, commemorated in the name of Ibal-pi-El II's 5th year, see Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 136ff. and 163.

regnal years of Erišum's predecessors, kings nos. 27-32, among which his three ancestors. It writes after king 32: "In all six kings [*known from*] bricks, whose eponyms have not been marked/found".<sup>57</sup>

The eponym list KEL A breaks off after year 27 of Narām-Suen, but the temporal distance between Erišum I and Šamši-Adad I, who dethroned Erišum II, shows that their combined reigns must have lasted 64 years. Because the figure for Naram-Suen ends in 4, the best solution is to assign him 44 or 54 years of reign and his son, who lost his throne to Šamši-Adad, a shorter one, of 20 or 10 years. The destruction of *kārum* Kanesh level II must have occurred during Naram-Suen's 35th year, in 1837 BC.

<i>nr.</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>son of</i>	<i>regnal years</i>	<i>date (middle chron.)</i>
27	Sulili	Aminum	?	?
28	Kikkiya	?	?	
29	Akia	?	?	
30	Puzur-Aššur I	?	?	
31	Šalim-ahum	Puzur-Aššur I	?	?
32	Ilušuma	Šalim-ahum	?	?
<i>In all six kings [<i>known from</i>] bricks, whose limum's have not been marked/found</i>				
33	Erišum I	Ilušuma	40	1974-1935 BC
34	Ik-unum	Erišum I	14	1934-1921 BC
35	Šarru-kin	Ikunum	40	1920-1881 BC
36	Puzur-Aššur II	Šarru-kin	8	1880-1873 BC
37	Narām-Suen	Puzur-Aššur II	54 or 44	1872-1829/19 BC
38	Erišum II	Narām-Suen	20 or 10	1828/18-1809 BC
39	Šamši-Adad I	Ila-kabkabuhu	33	1808-1776 BC
40	Išme-Dagan	Šamši-Adad I	40	1775-1761(?) BC

The chronology of kings nos. 27-40, with the data from KEL A/MEC integrated into those of AKL

The number of 40 regnal years of Išme-Dagan in AKL cannot be checked, since we have no historical data on him after the end of the Mari archives, in Zimrilim's 13th year (1762 BC). Eder accepts them and is able to fit them into his revised chronology,<sup>58</sup> but others consider the figure of 40 too high and assume that the years he ruled from Ekallātum, while his father was still alive, have been included. We do not know exactly when this rule started,<sup>59</sup> but if he lost his throne in 1761 BC, when Hammurabi conquered Ekallātum,<sup>60</sup> he would have reigned independently for ca. 15 years and his rule at Ekallātum should have started shortly after 1800 BC.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Veenhof 2003, 21.

<sup>58</sup> Eder 2004, 207. With a 40 years' reign after his father's death, Išme-Dagan would have reached an age of ca. 75 years and have been born when Šamši-Adad I was ca. 30 years old.

<sup>59</sup> Charpin 2004, 158 with note 725.

<sup>60</sup> Eder 2004, 208 note 46 mentions the possibility that he occurs in OBTR 253:5, from this same year, which records a.o. "issues to foreign rulers and military commanders or their messengers".

<sup>61</sup> Arguments against a forty years' reign are his illness, reported in text from Mari (see *MARI* 7, 1993, 273, lines 21ff.; there were even rumors about his death, ARM 26, 493-495), and the fact that a variant version of AKL (Grayson 1981, King List 10) lists his son Mut-Asqur as his successor. Mut-Asqur already in 1765 BC was considered old enough to replace his father on the throne of Ekallātum (ARM 371:43ff.) and to lead an army (ARM 26, 411:37ff.), and there were plans to let him

The last column gives the dates according to the "middle chronology", which is followed in this volume, not because it can be proved to be the correct one, but in order to allow correlation with *OBO* 160/4. An absolute chronology still cannot be offered and there are now more competing solutions than ever. An ultra short one has been by advocated by Gasche, who dates Šamši-Adad's death to 1679 BC.,<sup>62</sup> also on the assumption that Assyria before Tiglath-Pileser I used lunar years without intercalation. In this system Erišum I would have started his reign in 1874 BC.<sup>63</sup> Another solution was presented by Michel and Rocher 2000, who used both the mention in MEC of a solar eclipse during the year after the birth of Šamši-Adad, in the year KEL 126, and dendrochronological data from contemporary Anatolia obtained at Acemhöyük. After the latter had been refined, the final proposal is that Šamši-Adad I was born in 1836 and died in 1760 BC, which means a reduction of the middle chronology by ca. 16 years.<sup>64</sup> An ultra long chronology, based on the reliability of the so-called "Distanzangaben" in Assyrian building inscriptions, has now been advocated by Eder, who arrives at 1846 BC as the year of Šamši-Adad's death and at an accession of Erišum I in 2044 BC.<sup>65</sup>

It is difficult to choose between these proposals, all of which, moreover, have to work with assumptions and hypotheses and as such are liable to criticism.<sup>66</sup> Fortunately, it is not too important for the following analysis whether the whole Old Assyrian Period moves up or down fifty or hundred years, as long as important synchronisms<sup>67</sup> - with

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marry with a daughter of the king of the Turukkū in 1763 BC (Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 218 and 236). Taking the 40 years of AKL at face value he would have had to wait another 30 years before succeeding his father.

<sup>62</sup>62 Gasche 1998 with Gasche 2003; cf. also D.A. Warburton, Shamshi-Adad and the eclipses, in: *Studies Larsen*, 583-98.

<sup>63</sup>63 I have presented arguments against this "lunar reduction" in Veenhof 2000, 141ff.; see also Veenhof 2003, 58f.

<sup>64</sup>64 Michel 2000 and 2002. The dendrochronological argument is that the building at Acemhöyük, in which bullae with the seal of Šamši-Adad I have been found, was constructed in the period between 1778 and 1767 BC.

<sup>65</sup>65 Eder 2004. An important aspect of his reconstruction (205ff.) is that the "Distanzangabe" by Esarhaddon (after correcting the figure of 434 into 494 years) yields 1759 BC as the accession year of Šamši-Adad I. This is 119 years later than 1878 BC, the year which results from the data supplied by Shalmaneser I, which KEL and MEC have proved to be correct. This discrepancy is solved by assuming that the scribe of Esarhaddon used the late, canonical version of the Assyrian King List, which was drafted after Tiglath-pileser I and in which the successors of Išme-Dagan I until king 48 (Bēlu-bāni) would have been omitted.

<sup>66</sup>66 I only mention here, in connection with Eder's proposal, that the deviating, perhaps older version of AKL (Grayson 1981, 115, List 10 = KAV 14), which would still have contained Išme-Dagan's successors, who are needed fill the gap of 125 years, only has two lines with four (possibly six) names available for them, before moving to king 54 of the canonical version, which is clearly too little. Eder (208) tries to "fill" Išme-Dagan's disputed forty years of independent reign by mentioning "eine rege Bautätigkeit" in Assur, which is more than the sources document, and he ignores the consequences of Hammurabi's conquest of Ekallātum in the latter's 32nd year, which would have normally meant the end of Išme-Dagan's reign, if not life (if we compare the fate of Zimrilim).

<sup>67</sup>67 A presumed synchronism between Ilušuṃa and Sumu-abum (of Babylon), read in the "Chronicle of Early Kings", line 37 (which has *Su-a-*

Babylonia and Mari via Šamsī-Adad I; indirectly with Samsu-iluna, via Assur's treaty with Apūm/Šehna - remain intact and also the temporal distance between the end of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib and the emergence of the Old Hittite Empire (under Hattušilis I) remains more or less the same.<sup>68</sup> The real problems, if we accept Eder's solution, would only start after Išme-Dagan, whose reign, however, due to a lack of written documentation after ca. 1762 BC, for the time being is the latest phase of the OA period which we can study.

## 2.2. THE PERIOD BEFORE ERIŠUM I

If the reign of Erišum started in ca. 1974 BC, there are only ca. fifty years after the end of Ur III into which we have to fit the rulers preceding him. They are in the first place his direct predecessors, nos. 30-32 of AKL, the last two known from original inscriptions,<sup>69</sup> in which Puzur-Aššur I, presumably the founder of a new dynasty, is mentioned as their ancestor. These three rulers, father, son and grandson, are enough to fill these fifty years and it is very uncertain whether we have to fit in here also nos. 27-29, about whom almost nothing is known, neither their genealogy, nor the length of their reigns, nor their chronological position. Only Kikkiya is mentioned in a later inscription as builder of the city-wall,<sup>70</sup> but Akiya and Sulili are completely unknown outside AKL and texts which use or reflect is, unless one identifies Sulili with an *e n s i* of Assur called Šilulu, who is only known from a later seal impression (see below III,1.2). If so, he can only be inserted before Puzur-Aššur I, possibly as the first ruler of an independent Assur, with only a short rule, if he had begun his career as the last governor of Assur under the Ur III empire. But there is no proof for this solution.

## 2.3. THE PERIOD OF KĀRUM KANESH LEVEL II

Thanks to the new eponym list we know that level II lasted until ca. 1837 BC, the 35th year of Naram-Sin. And a piece of an envelope with an impression of Erišum's seal, presumably from a letter sent by him, found in the *kārum* in 1983, suggests that the Assyrian presence at Kanesh started during his reign.<sup>71</sup> That the annual eponymous *limums*, so important for the administration and finances of the city, first appear during his reign supports this conclusion, but the exact beginning of this phase is still unknown,

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*bu* and does not mention Babylon), was already refuted by Larsen 1976, 69f. KEL now makes it clear that Sumu-abum of Babylon ruled about a century after Ilušuma.

<sup>68</sup> Assured by the link between the end of the Hammurabi dynasty and the reign of Mursilis I. Eder 2004, 228 puts the dates at ca. 1775 and ca. 1700 BC

<sup>69</sup> *RIMA* 1, A.O. 31 and 32.

<sup>70</sup> By Aššur-rēm-nišēšu, in *RIMA* 1, 101, line 5, where he is mentioned as builder before Ik-unum, king no. 34

<sup>71</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 41. Kryszat 2004a, 5, doubts the conclusive force of this discovery, because a dead ruler's (son and) successor could still use this father's seal, a thesis elaborated in Kryszat 2004b. But the fact that Puzur-Aššur II, soon after his accession, still uses his father's seal does not prove that this also happened with Erišum's seal

because the oldest dated texts from the *kārum* are later than his reign.<sup>72</sup> As will be explained in ch. III.1.3, it is possible that the trade had already started under Erišum's energetic predecessor Ilušuma, but if so probably first as a venture trade by visiting caravans, which used temporary lodgings (*bēt ubrim*), before Assyrian settlement in Kanesh took place.

Whatever the exact date of its beginning, it is now clear that level II of *kārum* Kanesh lasted well over a century, which implies developments over time, which we must try to map with the help of KEL. In level II we may distinguish a "best documented phase", the years with the biggest number of dated records from the main archives, which starts about halfway the reign of Šarru-kin (ca.1900 BC) and continues for ca forty to forty-five years. From the last twenty years of *kārum* level II there are much less dated records, which cannot simply be due to the chances of discovery.

#### 2.4. THE PERIOD OF KĀRUM KANESH LEVEL Ib

The existence of this period, at first doubted, is now clear, both from the stratigraphy in *kārum* Kanesh, the eponymic datings of texts found there, and the occurrence of a number of Anatolian kings, and it is also documented by the textual discoveries made at Amkuwa and Hattuša.<sup>73</sup> It must have started after an interval of ca. 35 years, but as long as the new, late eponym list has not been published, we cannot date its beginning, which must fall in the gap after eponym 27 of sequence B of MEC. This means that the revival of *kārum* Kanesh falls within the reign of Šamši-Adad I, and one might be inclined to connect it with his domination of Northern Mesopotamia, accomplished after the defeat of his rival Yahdun-Lim of Mari, in ca. 1794 BC. However, as the destruction of level II of *kārum* Kanesh was due to internal Anatolian conflicts, we may assume that its revival in level Ib was also primarily conditioned by developments there. We also know from Mari texts that commercial caravans and traders could travel even in times of war, on the basis advance notices and treaty agreements, which served to secure their passing.<sup>74</sup> The treaty between the ruler of Apūm (Tell Leilan) and the city of Assur, from ca. 1740 BC, proves that the caravan trade did continue in periods of political instability and also have started earlier or later.

Whatever the possibility of a link between the emergence of *kārum* level Ib and the political career of Šamši-Adad I, it is likely that he would have greeted and exploited the revival of the trade as a contribution to the economy of his realm. The discovery in the ruins of Acmhöyük of bullae with impressions of his seal, originally attached to packets, shows that he was also personally involved (see below IV.2.3). Texts from the level Ib period, whose number is anyhow rather small, also indicate that there were at

<sup>72</sup> The oldest eponym thus far attested was no. 47 (see Veenhof 2003, 30, 47a), but Larsen now informs me that the memorandum 94/k 1263 rev. 19 mentions the eponymy KEL 41, which brings us to the first year of Ik-unum. It is only natural that early texts were discarded after some generations, since old commercial records were no longer needed as written proof of transactions which had been completed long ago, which is different with title deeds and contracts as proof of status or rights.

<sup>73</sup> Analyzed in Dercksen 2001a. Both cities apparently already harbored Assyrian settlements during the level II period, see *ibidem* 40 note 5 and 50 note 59 (and below IV.2.1-2), but the main archeological and textual discoveries were made in the levels contemporary with *kārum* Kanesh level Ib.

<sup>74</sup> Charpin-Durand 1997, 377ff.

times problems of communication, because the names of some year eponyms only became known in the colonies more than a year after they had been elected.<sup>75</sup> Because we cannot yet date these eponyms, it is impossible to connect these communication problems with political events in Northern Mesopotamia and, again, also developments in Anatolia could be the cause.

The information on the total number of eponyms of the new list (which starts with eponym 110 of KEL) makes it clear that this period may have lasted until the middle of the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon, or ca. 1720 BC. We do not know what caused the now definitive end of the Assyrian commercial penetration of Anatolia, but the destruction of level Ib of *kārum* Kanesh and of level IVa of the lower city of Boğazköy certainly were the result of the political competition and rivalry between the various Anatolian kingdoms, as they are known from the letter of Anum-hirbi of Mamma<sup>76</sup> and, somewhat later, from the so-called "Anitta text".<sup>77</sup> It seems unlikely that Samsu-iluna's raid on Šehna (Apûm) in 1728 BC,<sup>78</sup> even though this town had a *kārum* with Assyrian traders and was a traditional road station for caravans on the way to Anatolia, was the cause of the breakdown of the system. The new eponym list suggests that trade and contacts between the colonies and Assur continued for some time after that year. There may have been other players too on the North-Mesopotamian scene, such as the ruler of Yamhad (Aleppo), who tried to strengthen his grip on northern Mesopotamia, as texts from Tell Leilan indicate. When *kārum* Kanesh level Ib came to an end, Assur itself, in our perception, had already entered a "dark period", marked by a lack of written sources, which, considering the data in AKL, was due to political confusion. But we do not know to what extent the end of the Anatolian trade, which certainly must have had a negative effect, was also responsible for it.

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<sup>75</sup> The dating then takes the form of *limum ša qāt qātim* PN, "eponymy of PN, who took it over from the one who took it over from PN" (KBo 9, 4:8ff.).

<sup>76</sup> See Balkan 1957.

<sup>77</sup> See for this text Neu 1974 and a summary of its contents in Klengel 1999, 27ff.

<sup>78</sup> Recorded in the name of his 28th year.

### 3. SOURCES FOR THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

We have written sources and remains of the material culture from various archeological sites and most of the former are contemporary, but some later and belong to the historical tradition. The following survey classifies them according to their provenience and presents them more or less in chronological order.

#### 3.1. SOURCES FROM ASSUR

##### 3.1.1 WRITTEN SOURCES FROM ASSUR

We only have a small number of written sources from Assur. They include a few royal inscriptions of kings nos. 31-34 and 39 of AKL, written on stone vessels, a statue, a mace head, a door socket, stone slabs, bricks, clay plaques and pots.<sup>79</sup> We may add the important inscription of Erišum I, discovered in two somewhat younger school copies in a house in *kārum* Kanesh level II. Its original,<sup>80</sup> an inscribed *sikkatum*, must have been displayed in Assur, perhaps in the *mušlālu*-gate, whose construction and role in the administration of justice receive much attention.<sup>81</sup> These inscriptions mention various building activities in the city and on the temples of Aššur, Ištar and Adad, and measures of Ilušuma and Erišum I, which probably were taken to promote the role of Assur as a trading centre (see below ch. III.1.3). Šamši-Adad I in an inscription, written in the Babylonian dialect (*RIMA* 1, 48ff.), boasts of the prosperity of the city, of receiving tribute from far away regions (the kings of Tukrish and of the Upper Land), and of reaching the Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea. Finally there is the remarkable building inscription of Puzur-Sin, son of Aššur-bēl-šadu'e (*RIMA* 1, 77, no. 1001), a ruler probably from ca. 1700 BC, ignored by the king list, perhaps because of his criticism of Šamši-Adad I.

In addition, thanks to later copies or references in later royal inscriptions, we know of the work of rulers whose original building inscriptions have not been preserved. They tell us about building activities of Kikkiya and Išme-Dagan I,<sup>82</sup> of Ikūnum's work on the temple of Ereškigal (in Assur),<sup>83</sup> and of that of Šamši-Adad I on the ziqurrats of the

<sup>79</sup> Edited in *RIMA* 1, 14-18, 22-51, 60-63, and 77-78; see for them also Galter 1996, 1997 and 1998. The pages of *RIMA* 1 not listed contain inscriptions found elsewhere, in Kanesh, Niniveh and Mari.

<sup>80</sup> Unless one believes that the tablet found in Kanesh is a combination of two different inscriptions.

<sup>81</sup> *RIMA* 1, 19-21. Dercksen 2003 proposes the following restoration of lines 31ff. (which only occur in ms. B): "In the month Narmak-Aššur ..... in order to render verdicts for my city, righteousness was indeed established in my city....." ([... *i-n*]a *na-ar-ma*-<*ak*>-A-šūr [x x x] / [*a-na di-n*]a-at a-[*i-ia di-a-nim*] etc.)

<sup>82</sup> Kikkia, no. 28 of AKL, by Aššur-rēm-nišēšu (see *RIMA* 1, 101, 5), and Išme-Dagan I by Enlil-nāšir I (see *RIMA* 1, 95, 7), assuming that he and not Išme-Dagan II (king 58) is meant. The existence of namesakes, sons and once a father of a Šamši-Adad, is confusing, also for the ancients, as shown by the presumably mistaken "Distanzangabe" of Tiglath-Pileser I (*RIMA* 2, 29, VIII:2f.), see Eder 2004, 208. An inscription of Šamši-Adad I, *RIMA* 1, 55 no. 3, mentions that Ikūnum (king no. 34) built the temple of Ereškigal.

<sup>83</sup> According to Galter 1998, 4ff., on the rev. of *RIMA* 1, 81, 1001 (read in line 21 [*lu*]-*te-e*). The obv. contains an inscription of Šamši-Adad

Anu-Adad temple.<sup>84</sup> In addition we have an inscription of Aššur-imitti, who dedicated a stone chest (*pitnum*), which his father Ikūnum had vowed to Aššur<sup>85</sup> (*RIMA* 1, 46, no. 2001), a private dedication made "when Sargon was governor of Aššur", and a unique inscription, published by Gelb,<sup>86</sup> written on an Old Assyrian votive vessel, which was erected "on the market of Urāmē".<sup>87</sup>

We also have impressions of inscribed cylinder seals of some rulers of the "Puzur-Aššur dynasty" and of Šamši-Adad I. While one of the seals of Erišum I was found in Assur, impressed on a clay vessel (*RIMA* 1, 39, no.17), a second one of his and those of Šarru-kīn and Narām-Suen were found on envelopes of letters discovered in *kārum* Kanesh level II.<sup>88</sup> Those of Šamši-Adad I were on bullae excavated in Acemhöyük in Anatolia.<sup>89</sup> In addition we have an impression of the seal inscribed "Of divine Assur, of the City Hall" (*ša dAššur / ša É ālimki*), impressed on the tablets with the so-called vassal treaties of Esarhaddon.<sup>90</sup> It may be compared with that bearing the inscription "Of divine Assur, of the tax, of the City Hall" (*ša dAššur / ša nishatim / ša É ālimki*), impressed on bullae attached to packets (with goods or tablets) sent from Assur by the *nibum*,<sup>91</sup> addressed to *kārum* Kanesh and from there apparently sent on (without having been opened?) to Acemhöyük.

Finally we have the historical data in the eponym lists, in particular of KEL A, which mentions the accession years of several kings of the so-called Puzur-Aššur dynasty, a document of which I have tried to show that it was written in the city of Assur.<sup>92</sup> Such a list and perhaps also an early "eponym chronicle" (after the pattern of MEC), must have been at the basis of AKL and its various editions, whatever their origin and their later redaction.

The number of other epigraphic finds in Assur from our period is extremely small. Since the strata of the Old Assyrian lower city were not reached by the excavators, we have no archives and only a small number of Old Assyrian tablets was found in various places,<sup>93</sup> several of which were published by Donbaz.<sup>94</sup> One group of 14 tablets

I on his work on the same temple, which mentions Ik-unum as his predecessor.

<sup>84</sup> Mentioned by Šamši-Adad III in *RIMA* 1, 81, 1001.

<sup>85</sup> In Veenhof 2003, 42f. I considered the possibility that the early death of Ik-unum prevented him from fulfilling his vow, a duty now performed by his son.

<sup>86</sup> Gelb 1974; cf. AOAT 355, for the implications of the mention of a market (*mahirum*).

<sup>87</sup> The meaning of this last word is unknown, Gelb takes it as a nisbe, writes *Urāmīē* and translates "of the Uramians". A place-name *Urām* is unknown, and one might compare the name of the town *Ubāsē* (*RIMA* 1, 141, line 30), but it could also be a designation of a class of people, like *ubārē*. The discovery of the sherd suggests that the market, whatever its name means, was located in Assur.

<sup>88</sup> See Veenhof, 2003, 41-46 and Kryszat 2004b on the letters whose envelopes contain the impressions of the seals of the rulers.

<sup>89</sup> See Tunca 1989 and the inscription on Ac-1-1098, mentioned by Tunca 1993 note 1, where the king's name is spelled *Samsi-dAddu*.

<sup>90</sup> See Dercksen 2004a, 90f.

<sup>91</sup> See Veenhof, 1993, 651, with pl. 124; the carving on the seal renders a seven tiered mountain, standing on four feet, with a bull's head protruding, which probably is a rendering of the god Aššur. See for the *nibum* now Dercksen 2004a, 62f.

<sup>92</sup> Veenhof 2003, 16-19.

<sup>93</sup> See for their bibliography, Michel 2003c, 121f., 2.1.2.



emerged together with a large MA archive (Ass. 13058) in the destruction layer of a Middle Assyrian "administrative building".<sup>95</sup> A few later OA texts turned up in Pedersén's archive M 9 (with Ass 14446 numbers), which may indicate that they had been preserved for centuries by the family of the archive holder. One of them, as shown by Donbaz,<sup>96</sup> prosopographically links up with two contracts in other collections and all three record the sale of houses and house plots in Assur, dated after still unknown year "late Old Assyrian" year eponyms.<sup>97</sup> I myself published a late OA tablet in private possession, dated to the eponymy year of Išme-Dagan, son of Šamši-Adad, which records a manumission and adoption.<sup>98</sup> Finally, there is a small group of rather damaged administrative, partly sealed tablets, which turned up in the ruins of the so-called "Schotterhofbau", below the foundation trenches of the so-called Old Palace.<sup>99</sup> Mention must also be made of a few epigraphic discoveries of this period outside Assur, but relating to our period. In the first place that of an inscribed spear-head found in the Ištar temple at Nineveh, apparently a votive gift, recently studied by Reade 2005, 358ff. The inscription may have read É.GAL DINGIR-<sup>100</sup>šū-ma<sup>2</sup>, "palace of Ilušuma", but the origin of the object (found together with the famous copper head of an Old Akkadian king) is not clear. Reade considers the possibility that it had been displayed in front of the shrine of the Phase 5-6 temple and had subsequently been buried there or had been deposited (later) in the foundation level of the Phase 7 temple. We also do not know whether it had been originally dedicated to Ištar of Nineveh by Ilušuma (whose connection with that city is unknown; it was to all appearances independent of Assur during the Old Assyrian period) or had arrived there as booty, perhaps even from Assur. In the second place there are a few Old Assyrian texts discovered in Nuzi, which in our period must have been called Gasur,<sup>100</sup> five of which were published in 1935 and discussed in Lewy 1938, while a sixth one, a letter, was edited in Owen 1995.

### 3.1.2. REMAINS OF MATERIAL CULTURE IN ASSUR

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<sup>94</sup> Donbaz 1974, 1979 and 1985

<sup>95</sup> Archive M 7 of Pedersén 1985, 75f. Several of the texts were published, mainly from photos, by Donbaz 1985. Ten of them are lentil-shaped and hence perhaps school tablets, four of which deal with the rate of conversion of gold and copper into silver. The rate silver : copper is 74:1, that of pure (*zakium*) gold : silver is 5 1/2 : 1, which is much less than the current OA rate (which approximates 8:1) and more in line with the rates of the OB period, which may indicate that the tablets are 'late(r) Old Assyrian'.

<sup>96</sup> Donbaz *NABU* 2001/55 and 56. The three texts are Pedersén 1985, 99 (124), provisionally published by Donbaz 1985, 9 note 6; MAH 15962 (Gelb-Sollberger 1957), and a tablet in private collection at Izmir (Donbaz, *NABU* 2001/56).

<sup>97</sup> Those of Adad-bāni, Urad-Šerua, and Qiš-Amurru. The latter two tablets must have been stolen from the Assur excavations.

<sup>98</sup> Veenhof 1982; it is dated in the eponymy of Išme-Dagan son of Šamši-Adad. The tablet since has been donated to the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.

<sup>99</sup> See Pedersén 1989 and Pedersén 1997, 140, 2.1. The group "Ass 19492", indicated on the map of the 'Schotterhofbau' in Miglus 1989, 107, consists of Old Akkadian tablets.

<sup>100</sup> Two persons with good Akkadian names, who occur in texts from *kārum* Kanis level II, are identified as *Gasurûm*, "man from Gasur", see Nashef 1991, 40 s.v. Gasur.

Architectural remains of the Old Assyrian period were found in the upper town, the area with the temples and the palace. Of the temple of Ishtar, according to the new analysis by Bär,<sup>101</sup> phases E and D are relevant for our period. Temple E, a new construction after a caesura, would date to the Ur III (when it must have been built) and (early) Old Assyrian periods, while D, a completely new and enlarged temple, must also have been erected during the Old Assyrian period and lasted until Middle Assyrian times. Then Tukulti-Ninurta I replaced it by a completely new building and in doing so, according to his inscription *RIMA* 1, 254:19ff., he must have found a building inscription of Ilušu(m)ma, dating to 720 years earlier. But the exact dates of the end of E and the building of D, and therefore the question to which ruler D has to be assigned and to which phase the inscriptions of Ilušuma<sup>102</sup> and the dedicatory inscription, made "when Šarru-kīn was ruler of Assur",<sup>103</sup> belong, remains unclear.<sup>104</sup> However, a new analysis of the stratigraphy of temple E has made it likely that with the end of its first phase (E 1) we are already in the beginning of the twentieth century BC. For the leveled fill underneath the first floor of temple E 2 yielded the impression of a seal whose inscriptions mentions the ruler Iši-Dagan of Mari, who must have reigned around or shortly after 2000 BC.<sup>105</sup>

The history of the Aššur temple is also complicated, but it seems clear that there was already a sanctuary in Early Dynastic times, in view of the discovery of the votive statue Assur 16710 (SK 14). The poor remains of the Ur III period are overlaid by those of the Old Assyrian period, recognizable from the many inscribed bricks of king Erišum I (some of which were found in secondary use). He probably embellished and enlarged a temple built by a predecessor, presumably Šalim-ahum who states that the god requested the temple from him.<sup>106</sup> Erišum I himself, after describing his work on the temple, in *RIMA* 1, 20:16 mentions that its name was<sup>107</sup> "House, Wild Bull" (*bētum rīrum*). Its remains, insufficient for reconstructing a good ground-plan, are overlaid by the temple built by Šamši-Adad I, which in turn is only preserved in its basic ground-plan, with leaves uncertainty about doorways and passages and hence about the functions of the various rooms. According to the latest interpretation of this temple by

<sup>101</sup> Bär 2003, see especially 37ff. and 65ff., and see now also Bär 2005.

<sup>102</sup> The so-called "Riegelstein", *RIMA* 1, A.O. 32,1, found in secondary position in the temple built by Tukulti-Ninurta, and the inscribed bricks, *RIMA* 1 A.O.32.2, some of which were found in the ruins of the Ishtar temple.

<sup>103</sup> *RIMA* 1, A.O.35.2001.

<sup>104</sup> Bär 2003, 65, states that E was "ausgeräumt und gezielt abgetragen" and that its building material was reused for D, which of course creates problems, in particular for using Ilušuma's inscribed bricks, which were found in various places.

<sup>105</sup> See Bär 2005, with on p. 22 a new drawing of the seal inscription. See for Iši-Dagan, who belongs to the line of *šakkanakku*-rulers of Mari, J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 155f.

<sup>106</sup> See van Driel 1969, 8. Enlargement is suggested by his statement "from the Sheep Gate to the People's Gate I left (reserved?) terrain (*qaqqurū*) to Assur my lord" (*RIMA* 1, 20, 8ff), with the variant "I removed houses" (*RIMA* 1, 23, 35ff).

<sup>107</sup> Not "I called its name", as Yahdun-Lim did with the temple of Šamaš is Mari.

Miglus,<sup>108</sup> Šamši-Adad I, whose inscription speaks of "the temple of Enlil", formerly erected by Erišum I,<sup>109</sup> constructed two sanctuaries under one roof. One for Enlil, in the south-western part of the building, after the pattern of a Babylonian "Breitraumtempel", and one for Aššur, in the north-eastern part, which he designates as a "knickachsialer Breitraumtempel", a kind of "Hofhaus mit gefangenem Hauptsaal", also found in palaces. Respecting the tradition (embodied in the name of the temple mentioned by Erišum) he named it "House, Wild Bull of the Lands". The fact that this name is given both in Sumerian and in Akkadian<sup>110</sup> may well reflect Šamši-Adad's ideological attempt to combine the cults of Enlil and Aššur, but his efforts could not prevent that in due time the building was again simply called the Aššur temple.

The so-called Old Palace also has a complicated history. The earliest recoverable remains, to the west of the ziqqurrat, belong to the "Schotterhofbau", and consist of a paved courtyard adjoined by what could be the remains of a corridor and rooms. It may have been the oldest palatial building, but its function is not clear and specialists do not agree on its date,<sup>111</sup> but the discovery in this area of a small group of OA tablets<sup>112</sup> at least suggests an OA date. We should not forget that OA texts (royal inscriptions and archival records) never mention a palace,<sup>113</sup> while the "City Hall" was extremely important, which made Dercksen consider the possibility that the "Schotterhofbau" may have housed the Old Assyrian "City Hall".<sup>114</sup> The next phase is the so-called "Urplan des Alten Palastes", which consists of foundation trenches, partly in the rock, partly in older layers, which display the ground-plan of a building of 98 by 112 m., which Pedde is inclined to date to the 19th century BC.<sup>115</sup> This palace was never completed and somewhat later one started with a building which Pedde, on the basis of the size of the bricks in the foundation trenches, assigns to the time of Šamši-Adad I. Work on it, however, also was never finished and there are traces of later destruction.<sup>116</sup> Whatever its exact date, the remains offer little more than a groundplan, so that the functions of the rooms are not clear. Heinrich's comparison of the north-eastern part, courts IX and X surrounded by series of small rooms, with a Near Eastern

<sup>108</sup> Miglus 2001, where fig. 17 on p. 331 offers his reconstruction of the arrangement and function of the rooms of the Assur temple.

<sup>109</sup> *RIMA* 1, 49, 18ff., and 227, I, 3', but Erišum himself only speaks of the temple of Assur.

<sup>110</sup> *RIMA* 1, 49, 52ff., É AM.KUR.KUR.RA É *Ri-im-ma-ta-a-tim* É dEN.ÍL *bēlia ... šumšu abbi*.

<sup>111</sup> Miglus 1989 and 2004 suggests the Old Assyrian period, on the basis of the discovery of some clay tablets and of bricks of Erišum I in the debris separating this complex from the 'Old Palace'. Pedde 2003 apparently assumes an earlier date, since he assigns the 'Urplan' to the 19th century BC.

<sup>112</sup> Ass. 19662a-k, described in Pedersén 1989, who calls it 'O 2'.

<sup>113</sup> There is only a reference to a man called Asqūdum, who is a *wardum* of the palace (KTS 1, 55b:3f.)

<sup>114</sup> Dercksen 2004, 7-13. Later, when the Old Palace took its place, the 'City Hall' could have been incorporated in the palace or have been moved to the area east of the Ištar temple, where in the Middle Assyrian period a large administrative building arose.

<sup>115</sup> Miglus 1989 and *RIA* 10 (2004), 247, § 8.1.4f., assumes that it was the work of Šamši-Adad I.

<sup>116</sup> Perhaps to be connected with the actions of Puzur-Sîn, as described in his inscription *RIMA* 1, 77f.

*suq* and therefore possibly a design for the *š*City Hall (*bēt ālim*),<sup>117</sup> has not convinced Dercksen.

An important Old Assyrian architectural feature was the so-called "Step Gate" (*mušlālum*), where the seven divine judges resided and justice was rendered, built (or restored) by Erišum I, which had a long life.<sup>118</sup> A text from *kārum* Kanesh suggests that it was situated "behind the temple of Aššur"<sup>119</sup> and Adad-nārārī I (*RIMA* 1, 140, 35ff.) speaks of "the Step-Gate of the Temple of Aššur, which is opposite the Gate of the Oath of the God of the Land and the Gate of the Judges", but it has not been identified. Other features mentioned in early royal inscriptions are several city gates - the A<sup>3</sup>ušum Gate, the Wêrtum Gate, the Sheep Gate, the People's Gate, the Ilulāya Gate - but without the topographical information necessary to identify them. Also some graves dating to the Old Assyrian Period were found, notably grave 20, whose contents (including several OA seals) were last analyzed by Calmeyer.<sup>120</sup>

All in all the archaeological data only provide a rather limited and vague picture of the city during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium BC, which makes it also difficult to estimate the number of its inhabitants. The excavations of Assur unfortunately have not reached the OA levels in the lower city, where the prominent administrators and traders, which we know from the texts from *kārum* Kanesh, must have lived in their expensive and presumably sumptuous houses, with the ancestral tombs underneath them.<sup>121</sup> Their material remains and archives, if preserved, could teach us much about ancient Assur, but there is little chance that those the City Hall, the palace and the temple of Assur have survived.

### 3.2. SOURCES FROM KĀRUM KANESH

The most important source for our knowledge of the OA Period is the city of Kanesh, in Central Anatolia, especially the lower city, called *kārum*, "commercial quarter", where the Assyrian traders lived and where two archaeological strata, levels II and Ib, excavated since 1948, yielded both material remains and written documents.<sup>122</sup> Much more modest and damaged remains of Assyrian presence were also discovered in the Assyrian settlements at Amkuwa and Hattuša. The rich material remains brought to light at Kanesh basically reflect the local Anatolian material culture, with a number of items apparently imported from Northern Syria,<sup>123</sup> and therefore will be treated here (in 3.2.2) only in as far they shed light of the material culture of the Assyrians. The texts, all

<sup>117</sup> Heinrich, *Die Paläste im Alten Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1984, 72.

<sup>118</sup> See for its mention in Erišum's inscriptions, *RIMA* 11, 20f., lines 5f., 26ff., 39ff., 54, for later occurrences van Driel 1969, 29ff., and CAD M/II, 277.

<sup>119</sup> See Veenhof 1995, 1721, note 12. *El* 244: 6, kt 94/k 350:12, and 480:8ff. (courtesy Larsen) also mention legal procedures and decisions (*šimtam šīāmum*, *atwūm*, *awatam tadānum*) which took place "behind the temple of Aššur" (*warki bēt Aššur*).

<sup>120</sup> Calmeyer 1977. Another 'Old Assyrian' grave was Ass 13122 no. 27, mentioned by Dercksen 2004a, 20.

<sup>121</sup> See for data on houses Michel 1997b and for a measure of the authorities to repair the forced sale of family houses, Veenhof 1999b.

<sup>122</sup> See for a general and well illustrated overview Özgüç 2003.

<sup>123</sup> See Özgüç 1986 on the cultural relations between Anatolia and Northern Syria and the presence of Syrian artistic traditions, which live on during the period of *kārum* Kanesh.

written in the Old Assyrian dialect, document many aspects from OA life and history and will play a prominent role in what follows.

### 3.2.1 WRITTEN SOURCES FROM KANESH

#### 3.2.1.1. TEXTS FROM THE *KĀRUM* AND TEXTS FROM THE CITY-MOUND

The great majority texts discovered in *kārum* Kanesh stems from the archives found in the houses of the traders settled there during the level II period, which must have lasted from ca. 1950 to 1837 BC.<sup>124</sup> Their total, comprising the tablets found by local diggers (estimated at ca. 4000), those excavated or acquired in 1925 by B. Hrozný (estimated at ca. 1000) and those excavated by the Turkish archaeologists since 1948 (ca. 18.000), now amounts to ca. 23.000. Of these ca. 350 texts belong to the younger level Ib, mostly deriving from small archives, but in 2001 a group of 145 texts from this younger level was discovered. In addition we have ca. 135 (partly rather damaged) texts from the excavations of the Assyrian settlements at Amkuwa and Hattuş(a), nearly all of which also belong to the period of level Ib.<sup>125</sup> The texts found in the last two colonies are important because they offer a different perspective and, notwithstanding their limitations, help to map the changes in the Assyrian trade during this later period (see also below III.2.3).

Ca. forty cuneiform texts were discovered in the ruins of levels 8 and 7 on the city-mound,<sup>126</sup> which are contemporary with levels II and Ib of the *kārum*. A few derive from the so-called "palace of Waršama", among them the famous letter of king Anum-hirbi of Mamma and two important lists of personnel.<sup>127</sup> Some turned up in other monumental buildings, one of which, called "Official Storage Building" by the excavator, also yielded the famous spearhead of Anitta, which bears the inscription É.GAL A-ni-ta ru-ba-im, "palace of king Anitta".<sup>128</sup> One of the temples (no.1) yielded three tablets, one of which (kt h/t 330) is the record of an Anatolian slave sale, which seems to belong to time of *kārum* level II.<sup>129</sup> Some texts were discovered *in situ* in a house belonging to

<sup>124</sup> See for an overview Veenhof 2003a, and for a listing of the main collections and excavated archives, Michel 2003c, ch. 1.

<sup>125</sup> See the comprehensive analysis in Dercksen 2001a.

<sup>126</sup> See for the results of the excavations on the city-mound, Özgüç 1986, and for a list of the textual discoveries, Özgüç 1986, 21, 1999, 103 ("Fragments of tablets and envelopes"), Donbaz 1998c, and Michel 2003c, 1.3.2.

<sup>127</sup> See Balkan 1957, Bilgiç 1964, and Günbatı 1987a. The first list enumerates forty persons with various professions and from various towns, some of which are said to follow ("to be behind") a superior. All together they are said to be "the personnel (*aštāpirum*) of Turupani, the Chief of the Stairway".

<sup>128</sup> See Donbaz 1998c and now Özgüç 1999, 126f., with pl.107,1, who finds no support for an interpretation as votive gift. The inscription identifies the object as "palace property", words not normally inscribed on weapons, but in the Mesopotamian tradition not uncommon to mark objects as booty captured (and at times subsequently dedicated) by a king.

<sup>129</sup> Balkan 1957, 4f., with note 8, republished in Kienast 1984, 114f., no. 8. See for its provenience, Özgüç 1993a, 170 and 173. Explaining its presence in a temple from a concern for security (a safe deposit for a title deed) is difficult, since the buyer, Lagan(i), is not a priest, and if this

the level II period and a few are strays or from mixed fill. While some record transactions among Anatolians (kt n/t 2100, adoption; kt y/t 4, a barley loan<sup>130</sup>), several are Assyrian archival records, including a business letter, debt-notes for silver and barley, and even a verdict of *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>131</sup> Even when some tablets may have been displaced by the destruction and later rebuilding,<sup>132</sup> these purely Assyrian records must originally have been kept in houses there, which implies that some Assyrians lived on the city-mound.

### 3.2.1.2. OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE TEXTS

All texts from *kārum* Kanesh level II were found in private archives and the important "*kārum* house", which had its own archives, has not been located.<sup>133</sup> The texts therefore document in the first place the commercial interests and private affairs of the traders and their families, which makes them an extremely rich source for social and economic history. But the role of Assur's City Assembly and City Hall in furthering and regulating the trade, the participation in it of the rulers and some temples (which invested funds called *ikribū*) and the fact that many legal conflicts among traders ultimately had to be settled in Assur, explain why private documents contain a lot of information on public life in Assur. They report on decisions of the City Assembly (*ālum*)<sup>134</sup> on actions of the *limu*-eponyms (who headed the "City Hall"), on the administration of justice, and on various other events in Assur, such as disturbances in the arrival of import goods and fluctuation in the rates of exchange. Moreover, *kārum* Kanesh as an organization, with a general assembly (*puhrum*), a smaller 'executive board' (the "big men", *rabiūtum*), a secretary (*tupšarrum*), official messengers (*šiprum ša kārim*) and rotating officers responsible for specific tasks (called *limum* and *hamuštum*) was the administrative centre of the colonial network. It took care of the administration of justice, of diplomatic contacts with the local Anatolian rulers, of implementing decisions of the City and transmitting them to the other colonies, and of collecting certain taxes, which would

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custom existed one should have found many more tablets there. The second tablet from the temple (kt h/k 331) is a letter addressed to the Assyrian Iddin-Abum. Note that the tablet with seal impressions shown in Özgüç 1993a, pl. 17.4-5, is not one of the tablets found in this temple, but kt n/k 31 (cf. T. Özgüç 1968, pl. XVI and Donbaz 1989a, 93).

<sup>130</sup> Published as AKT 1, 79 (without information on its provenience); read in line 12: *i-du-nu* IGI. Another text from the mound is AKT 1, 81, an Assyrian note of five lines dealing with textiles.

<sup>131</sup> See Veenhof 1989, 515, note 4, and Donbaz 1998c, 415ff. Note also kt z/t 18 (Özgüç 1999, pl. 87,2), part of the envelope of an Assyrian service contract, and kt 74/t 14, a debt-note with an Assyrian creditor and debtor, both of which are identical to the parties in the debt-note Chantre 16 = *El* 17, which has a duplicate in Garelli 1965, 22 no.10. *El* 157 is a debt-note with the same creditor, Iliš-tikal, also a very old text, originally published by Sayce in 1887. Are such texts also from the city-mound, where Chantre made investigations?

<sup>132</sup> A damaged Assyrian memorandum (kt g/t 44) even turned up in the debris underneath the late palace.

<sup>133</sup> Veenhof 2003, 79ff.

<sup>134</sup> A nice example in Veenhof 1999b, and see for more evidence Veenhof 2003d, 89ff.

ultimately accrue to the City.<sup>135</sup> As such it served as a kind of extension of the City of Assur, which kept in touch with it by official letters and "Envoys of the City". These activities, which are also reflected in private records, must have generated many documents, which may still lie buried in the archives of the "*kārum*-house". Fortunately, a good sampling of them for various reasons is also present in private archives. The officials of the *kārum* were traders who combined their rotating administrative duties with their private business and apparently also kept official documents in their archives, as was the case with Kuliya, a messenger of the *kārum*, whose little archive was excavated in 1992.<sup>136</sup> Important texts, such as official letters of a *kārum* and letters of the ruler in which verdicts of the City were transmitted to the colonies, at times were sent from Assur in more than one copy, apparently one meant for the *kārum* authorities and the other for the person involved (e.g. in a lawsuit). This happened also with texts written by *kārum* Kanesh, such as circular letters and official summonses.<sup>137</sup> Also texts that report on contacts between Assyrians (private traders or representatives of the *kārum*) and Anatolian rulers, for establishing diplomatic relations or solving problems, are found in private archives. This happened because their owners served or represented the *kārum* in such cases<sup>138</sup> or because these confrontations led to lawsuits in which Assyrians testified or submitted depositions, of which they at times obtained a copy.<sup>139</sup> Private archives also contain many records that reflect administrative activities of the *kārum*, especially accounting in connection with the "*dātu*-contributions" and deposits made by traders to take part in what has been called "communal trade", and the administration of justice. The latter is reflected a large variety of judicial records, which apparently became the property of the winner of the lawsuit,<sup>140</sup> some of which may have been duplicates of originals kept by the *kārum*.

The archives contained a few other non-private documents of great importance. They are the so-called "Statutes of the *Kārum*", fragments of three large tablets which detail the procedures to be followed when the *kārum* assembly meets,<sup>141</sup> the draft of a treaty with a small ruler in southern Anatolia,<sup>142</sup> five eponym lists (among which KEL A, with a colophon and presumably written in Assur, stands out),<sup>143</sup> and two copies of an

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<sup>135</sup> Including that of collecting the silver needed for work on the wall of Assur, charged to the colonies, as we know from the famous letter TC 1, 1, written to *kārum* Kanesh by a body (called *nibum*), which apparently represented its interests in Assur. This letter must have ended up in a private archive; see now Dercksen 2004a, 62ff., with a photo of this tablet.

<sup>136</sup> See for him and his archive now Kryszat 2004a, 15ff.

<sup>137</sup> Examples in *CMK* chapters 1 and 2, and in Veenhof 2003a, 81f.

<sup>138</sup> This must be the case with the letters in which Anatolian rulers ask for (the renewal of) the commercial treaties, which can be read in *CMK* 95ff.

<sup>139</sup> A good example is the sworn deposition about what was said during a confrontation between Assyrians and an Anatolian ruler in the case an Assyrian arrested for espionage, of which we have two copies. One is from the archive of Ušur-ša-lštar (kt n/k 504), who signed the deposition, and one from the archive of Alahum, son of Iddin-Suen (kt 93/k 145), whose son was the man arrested. See for these texts Michel-Garelli 1986 and Günbatı 2001.

<sup>140</sup> Or, in case of depositions, of the party who had supplied the witnesses or their written testimony.

<sup>141</sup> Presentation and analysis in Larsen 1976, 283ff.

<sup>142</sup> Kt n/k 794 = *CMK* 87, see now Günbatı 2004, 250 note 8.

<sup>143</sup> Edition and analysis in Veenhof 2003.

inscription of Erišum I, discovered in 1948.<sup>144</sup> The latter may have been school copies, but they must have been important for the traders and the *kārum*, because they contain regulations concerning the administration of justice in Assur, notably the possibility of *bona fide* plaintiffs to acquire an "attorney" (*rābišum*) from the city and the ruler, who would help them to win their case. Scribal education is documented in some damaged exercise texts,<sup>145</sup> notably a "paradigmatic letter" on a very large, multi-column tablet, and a badly written kind of "practical vocabulary", listing (units of) weight and continuing with metals and stones. Scribal or scholarly interest also explains the presence of a well preserved legendary tale about Sargon of Akkad,<sup>146</sup> one of the oldest known, whose existence can be linked with the admiration of two OA rulers for the Old Akkadian kings, whose names they borrowed.<sup>147</sup> In recent years a few more "official" texts were found, a late eponym list, which seems to go down to ca. 1720 BC, a political letter written to Hurmeli, the king of Harsamna, and two treaties from the level Ib period concluded between *kārum* Kanesh and the rulers of Kanesh and Hahhum.<sup>148</sup>

### 3.2.1.3. PRIVATE ARCHIVES

The first Old Assyrian tablets from Kanesh were discovered shortly before 1880 by the inhabitants of the local village. When these so-called "Cappadocian tablets"<sup>149</sup> proved to interest collectors and to yield money, the villagers kept supplying them to dealers and travelers over the next sixty years. In all probably ca. 4000 such texts were sold and large numbers were obtained by the museums of Berlin, London, Paris,<sup>150</sup> and (as part of the collection of J.B. Nies) by the Yale Babylonian Collection. Smaller groups ended up in Geneva, Giessen, Heidelberg, Jena, Leiden, Liverpool, Moscow, New York, Oxford, Philadelphia, and St. Petersburg. Many are scattered over small, partly private collections and many no doubt have been lost.<sup>151</sup> Turkish museums in Adana, Ankara, Istanbul, and Kayseri in all also have ca. 500 "old" texts, acquired by purchase, donation or confiscation.

<sup>144</sup> See Landsberger-Balkan 1950, later edited in *RIMA* 1, 20f.

<sup>145</sup> Most of which were edited in Hecker 1993, see Michel 2003c, ch. 3.3. A recent addition is Donbaz 2004, 185, kt 00k 12, half of a tablet listing theophorous personal names composed with the name of the gods Aššur, Adad and Šamaš. A few private archives contained incantations, rather for protection against evil than as exercise texts, see Michel 2003c, ch. 2.2 and 2005.

<sup>146</sup> Published in Günbattı 1988, cf. also Van de Mieroop 2000 and especially Derksen 2006.

<sup>147</sup> The deliberate choice of their names is also clear from the fact that they wrote them with the divine determinative, see Veenhof 2003, 44 and 46.

<sup>148</sup> See Günbattı 2004, and for the treaties below V.2.

<sup>149</sup> Because the information on their provenience soon pointed to the central Anatolian area formerly called Cappadocia.

<sup>150</sup> Including the 16 tablets found and acquired by E. Chantre during his exploration of Kültepe in 1893-94.

<sup>151</sup> The private collections of Frida Hahn (40 texts, published by Lewy in 1930) and of Erlenmeyer (published in ATHE) were eventually auctioned and scattered. B. Landsberger had a collection of transliterations of more than forty texts (usually quoted as C + number), belonging to private collectors, which they had shown to him when he worked in Ankara.



Their provenience, not from the ancient city mound (Kültepe, "Ash mound"), but from the lower town, called *kārum* Kanesh, now covered by fields and orchards, was discovered in 1925 by B. Hrozný, whose one year excavation must have yielded perhaps 500 tablets.<sup>152</sup> Finally, in 1948, official excavations were started on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), under the direction of Professor Tahsin Özgüç of Ankara University, in later years carried out by his successor Kutlu Emre. They continue until today and in all have brought to light ca. 18.000 tablets, tablet envelopes and bullae, which are preserved in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum at Ankara. Finally, there are the texts found during regular excavations at Alişar Hüyük (ancient Amkuwa) and during various campaigns at Boğazköy (ancient Hattuşa), nearly all of which belong to the period contemporary with *kārum* Kanesh level Ib.<sup>153</sup> A number of inscribed and/or sealed bullae from the same period was discovered at Acemhöyük, in the ruins of a palatial building in an ancient city whose identity (Buruşaddum?) is still not certain. How many archives have been found in *kārum* Kanesh is not clear. Reconstruction of the scattered archives from the tablets acquired from dealers is only possible to some extent for important traders with large archives, mainly on the basis of letters and legal documents.<sup>154</sup> The texts excavated since 1948<sup>155</sup> are numbered per year (kt a/k until kt z/k for 1948-1972, continued by kt 73/k, etc.) and, notwithstanding the information provided in the excavations reports,<sup>156</sup> it is not always fully clear how many different houses, with different archives, were excavated in one year. Occasionally texts from one archive bear numbers from two years, when its excavation could not be completed in one season.<sup>157</sup>

There is a great variation in the size of archives found, which may comprise a few dozen to more than a thousand texts, occasionally even two thousand. The latter figures may be assumed for the archives of Pūšu-kēn and Imdilum, found before 1948, and for those of Alāhum, Uşur-ša-Aššur and Šalim-Aššur, found in 1950, 1962 and 1994. Other large archives are those of Adad-şululi (1948), Ahšalim (1958), Pīlah-līštar (1988), Elamma (1991/2) and Alāhum and Aššur-taklāku (1993). For level II a number of ca. 80 to 100 different archives seems to be a reasonable guess. Some of the archives of this level belong to native Anatolian traders, such as Peruwa, Šuppiaḫšu en Šarapunuwa, but they have not yet been published.

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<sup>152</sup> Exact numbers cannot be given, because he also acquired tablets from the villagers and good records of his work and acquisitions are missing; the grand total may have been ca. one thousand. Part of the excavated texts entered the collections of the Archaeological Museums in Istanbul, others, together with his acquisitions, became the property of the University of Prague. See for more details Michel 2003c, 53-59.

<sup>153</sup> See Michel 2003c, 124ff. and Dercksen 2001a. Both collections are now in the museum at Ankara.

<sup>154</sup> E.g. in the recent edition of the letters and other records from the archive of Aššur-nādā, son of Aššur-idī, by Larsen 2002.

<sup>155</sup> For detailed information I refer to the excavation reports and to the many articles by Tahsin Özgüç, listed in Michel 2003c, 195ff., and to his recent volume *Kültepe. Kaniš/Neša*, published in 2003 by the Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan. Özgüç-Tunca 2001 also provides many welcome data.

<sup>156</sup> Özgüç 1950a, 1953a, 1959, 1986a, 2003, and Özgüç-Tunca 2003.

<sup>157</sup> The archive of the trader Elamma, which I have been invited to publish, was excavated in 1991 and the beginning of 1992. The texts excavated in 1989, studied by Y. Kawasaki, belong to three different archives.

### 3.2.1.4. ARCHIVES FROM KĀRUM KANESH LEVEL Ib

Level Ib of *kārum* Kanesh (ca. 1800 to 1720 BC) has yielded a relatively small number of tablets, in all thus far ca. 340. Many of the houses now belong to Anatolian inhabitants, some of which, probably those involved in commercial operations and in contact with the Assyrian traders, yielded some cuneiform texts. The number of Assyrians living in the *kārum* must have been much smaller and their houses contained only small lots of texts, only a few (from the years 1949, 1954, 1959, 1962), with more than twenty texts, might be called archives.<sup>158</sup> But a house excavated in 2001 yielded ca. 140 texts, among them the new, late eponym list and the letter to king Hurmeli of Harsamna, mentioned above,<sup>159</sup> but there is no description yet of this important archive.<sup>160</sup> The biggest group, kt n/k with ca. seventy texts, consists mainly of the small archives of two Assyrian traders, an older one of Eddin-Aššur, son of Aššur-mālik, probably from the beginning of the level Ib period, and a later one (perhaps from around 1770 BC), of Eddin-Aššur son of Ahiyāya.<sup>161</sup>

Özgüç 1986, 19, describes the archaeological contexts of these tablets as follows: "The tablets of level Ib were discovered ... lying on dirt floors near the walls, in scattered fashion, but in the seasons 1948/b, 1959/k, 1967/s, 1969/u, 1973 and 1978 the tablet finds evidently were dispersed hoards. .... In addition to tablets found on floors, tablets and broken envelopes also came to light in burnt debris which filled the rooms." He also mentions that "87 tablets were found in mixed fill overlying level Ib, as strays. Among these are quite a few that belong to level II." This makes it understandable that in a number of cases the attribution of a tablet to level II or Ib is not clear or debatable. According to Balkan about half of the ca. twenty tablets found during the excavations of level Ib in 1949 (kt b/k) and 1954 (kt f/k) actually belong to level II,<sup>162</sup> and he was also able to identify a number of "old texts" as deriving from level Ib.<sup>163</sup> If archaeological data are unclear or (for the old texts) missing, a variety of criteria can be used to date them. Convincing are the presence of late year eponyms, the so-called "notarization" of a transaction by named local rulers (only during level Ib)<sup>164</sup>, and the

<sup>158</sup> See for a list of tablets found until 1996, N. Özgüç 1968, 24. The archaeological context of these tablets is discussed in Özgüç 1986, 18-21, and four houses that yielded bigger lots are described in Özgüç 2004. He does not discuss the Level Ib tablets of the kt n/k group (of 1962), the seal impressions of which were published and discussed in N. Özgüç 1968 pls. XIII-XXVI. Several of these texts were quoted by Balkan and some were published in Donbaz 1989a and 2004a, 180f. (kt n/k 27).

<sup>159</sup> See Günbattı 2004. The two treaties he publishes there were found in a plan-square adjacent to that of the 2001 house.

<sup>160</sup> From this archive thus far only kt 01/325 (Albayrak 2004) has been published, an arrangement among the heirs of the Assyrian Šallim-Aššur (dated to a thus far unknown year eponymy of level Ib), meant to secure the rights of his unmarried daughter who is a priestess.

<sup>161</sup> See Veenhof 1998a, 441.

<sup>162</sup> Balkan 1955, 65 note 8.

<sup>163</sup> Balkan 1957, 45ff.; see also Balkan 1965b, 155 on ICK 2, 139 and 301.

<sup>164</sup> 'Notarization' is expressed by stating at the end of a legal record that the transaction was performed under the supervision/with the

presence of seal impressions on a tablet (in level II only on envelopes). More subtle ones are based on writing (the shape of certain signs<sup>165</sup> and the style of writing), language (both grammar and lexicon),<sup>166</sup> and the appearance in judicial records of specific administrative bodies, such as the "*dātu*-payers" and "the travelers on the road to the City".<sup>167</sup> Some of these criteria have to be applied with care, because tablets from the first period of level Ib can be very similar to those of the end of level II and some of the changes noted only took shape later.<sup>168</sup>

A complicating factor is that quite a number of the level Ib tablets belong to Anatolians, which makes us hesitate between attributing certain "late" features to the quality of the scribe or to chronological developments. There can be little doubt that Assyrian scribes were employed to produce the nicely written and grammatically accurate texts, some of which, e.g. those about establishing brotherhood and joint households, use a rather specific terminology. But it is difficult to prove it, since scribes are never mentioned among the witnesses of contracts whose conclusion they attended or whose text they wrote down. The texts of the well-written tablet with the letter of Anum-hirbi, king of Mamma (kt g/t 35), according to Balkan<sup>169</sup> contains no "barbarisms and solecisms", while "the orthography ... is consistent and cultivated", which suggests a scribe "well trained in Assyrian". But the "colloquial diction" and "some aberrations in the use of Assyrian words" make him hesitate, "unless we suppose that the king of Mamma himself dictated the letter so quickly that the scribe was not able ... to change a word". This last suggestion, which implies that the king spoke good Assyrian, does not convince. I would rather explain what Balkan calls "carelessness" and "aberrations" (erasures, use of wrong signs, etc.)<sup>170</sup> as indications that the writer was an Assyrian trader, who knew very well how to handle the stylus, but who may have been less experienced in writing such a diplomatic letter and, not being a professional writer, may have made a few scribal mistakes (without somebody to correct him) and may have used "colloquial diction".

We have no information on Mamma under Anum-hirbi or on the role of scribes during the level Ib period, but a piece of information found a memorandum from the archive of Kuliya (kt 92/k 196; late phase of level II) is worth quoting here. It mentions a "Hannanārum, son of Elāli, who had taken up the function of scribe in Mamma".<sup>171</sup> We know nothing of the man in question, nor whether he worked free-lance, in the service of the Assyrian community or for the local palace. But I would propose to see in him an Assyrian trader who had mastered the art of writing (perhaps by education in Assur, as a son of the trader Pūšu-kēn had),<sup>172</sup> and had settled in Mamma to practice

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authorization (*iqqāte*) of the named local ruler and the *rabi simmilitim*, see below IV.2.5.

<sup>165</sup> See the observations made in Veenhof 1982c, 366f.

<sup>166</sup> See Balkan, 1955, 65ff., notes 8 and 9, and 1957, 18ff..

<sup>167</sup> See Balkan 1965b, 154f.

<sup>168</sup> Photos of level Ib tabets are found in Özgüç 1986, pls. 44ff. The writing is much less slanting than in level II tablets and the outward appearance of tablets and their ductus of the kt r/k group (pl. 46,2; 47 3, 49,1; 50,1) is rather similar to that of Old Babylonian ones.

<sup>169</sup> See Balkan 1957, 18ff., on the language and figs 1-6 for the ductus.

<sup>170</sup> Erasures and occasional omission of a sign occur in many letters; the use of TA for /da/ is not uncommon in OA. See for variation between -a- and -u- GKT § 9a; "colloquial" u for introducing the apodosis is not unique.

<sup>171</sup> 40 *kaššār H. mer'a E. ša* <sup>41</sup> *tup-ša-ru-tām i-na Ma-ma-a iṣ-bu-tū.*

<sup>172</sup> In CCT 4, 6e:4ff. Suejja writes to his father: "We have now indeed learned the scribal craft. Send me an *epaddum*-textile for my master"

this craft alongside his commercial activities (he still had a *kassārum* in his service), which apparently could well be combined in OA society.<sup>173</sup>

In rare cases also prosopography can be helpful to assign texts to level Ib, when Assyrians occurring in them prove to belong to a later generation of a family attested during the level II period. The custom of "papponomy" (calling a son after his grandfather) can be helpful, but the limited number of Assyrian level Ib texts makes proof difficult and we must always reckon with namesakes. Hecker asked whether Buzāzu, son of Aššur-mutappil, witness in the level Ib text kt n/k 22, might not belong to the Pūšu-kēn family, since father and son have the same names as two sons of Pūšu-kēn, and Kryszat considered it very probable.<sup>174</sup> We cannot date the eponymy of this record (of which we anyhow know only a few lines), but Buzāzu appears here at least sixty to seventy years after the latest dated attestation of Aššur-mutappil, son of Pūšu-kēn (in eponymy year 108). If we believe in the continuity of "family names", which is not unlikely, he might be a grandson of Pūšu-kēn's son Buzāzu. Publication of more level Ib texts from Assyrian archives may allow safer conclusions and probably reveal more cases of trading families with long histories.

Also from the level Ib period, with only very few exceptions,<sup>175</sup> are the remains of archives found as small hoards and scattered tablets in Amkuwa (Alışar Höyük), the seat of an Assyrian *wabartum*,<sup>176</sup> and Hattuš (Boğazköy).<sup>177</sup> The in all ca. 135 tablets

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(*tupšarrūtam wadde lamdāni epaddam ana ummeānia šūbilam*). The use of the plural suggests that this son of a well-known trader was not the only one to receive this training. From texts found in level II of *kārum* Kanesh we now know ca. twenty different persons designated as DUB.SAR, among them also scribes of a *kārum*.

<sup>173</sup> A good example is the scribe Adada, whose commercial activities are clear from AKT 3, 28 and who, according to AKT 3, 27:20, had accumulated debts of more than one talent of silver. Commercial debts owed by him are also mentioned in CCT 2, 25:11f. and kt 91/k 141:39 and 47 (8 and 3 minas of silver).

<sup>174</sup> Hecker 1998b, 306, and Kryszat 2004a, 45. Hecker demonstrates both the potential and the pitfalls of this approach. He uses it to draw conclusions on the length of the (in his opinion short) interval between levels II and Ib, but now that the emponym lists indicates an interval of ca. thirty-five years, the evidence has to be reconsidered.

<sup>175</sup> From Amkuwa we have in OIP 27, 8 a prospographically completely isolated debt-note of level II, dated to eponymy 115, perhaps preserved for generations as proof of an unpaid debt. OIP 27, 3 too, a damaged judicial record, preserved with its envelope, on the basis of the stratigraphy of its find-spot may be older than level Ib. KBo 36, 113, found in waste from earlier excavations, for prosopographical reasons must be assigned to level Ib (see Dercksen 2001a, 50). It is uncertain whether the text "Nešr. Boğ.2", which circulates in transliteration (= CMK 58), is really from Hattuš. One would have to restore the address of this letter, written by the *wabartum* of Mamma, as [*ana kārim Hattuš u*] 2 [*waba*]*rim ša K[u-ša-ra]*, which is rather hypothetical, but the occurrence of the well-known scribe Aššur-bāni proves that it belongs to the level II period.

<sup>176</sup> Published by I.J. Gelb as OIP 27, 1-53 (nos 54-62 are texts from level II, acquired by the Oriental Institute).

<sup>177</sup> Published in KBo 9, 28 and 26. See for both cities, below ch. IV.2.2.

have recently received a comprehensive treatment by Dercksen,<sup>178</sup> who analyzed the archival lots belonging to Nabi-Enlil and Iddin-Kūbum of Amkuwa and of Dāya, son of Il-bāni, who lived in Hattuš. While Amkuwa most probably still harbored an Assyrian *wabartum* during level Ib (see OIP 27, 17:1f.; 18:26f., and below ch. IV.2.1 no. 1), as it did during level II,<sup>179</sup> the form of Assyrian presence at Hattuš, which had a *kārum* during level II, is not yet clear for the level Ib period. The texts from Amkuwa and Hattuš, as analyzed by Dercksen 2001a, are important because they offer a different perspective and give us some idea of the changes in Assyrian society and trade during this later period. The discovery of two treaties from this period, with the rulers of Kanesh and Hahhum, now provide important new insights (see below ch. V.2).

Several texts from level Ib, which stem from Anatolian archives and whose knowledge we owe in particular to V. Donbaz,<sup>180</sup> offer welcome information on the ancient Anatolian society, especially its family life, law and commercial activities. Among them are a number of contracts for the formation of a joint household by (natural and adopted) sons, who live and work in and "for a single household", with and under the authority of their father and mother, and others which record a separation from such a household.<sup>181</sup> Other contracts stipulate service duties (called *arhālum* and *unušsum*) of Anatolians, at times attached to the possession of a "house of the king" and reveal something of the system of land holding coupled with service obligations and of royal land-grants to important servants of the crown.<sup>182</sup>

See for the few level Ib texts discovered on the city-mound I.3.2.1.1.<sup>183</sup>

### 3.2.1.5. MAIN TEXT TYPES

All these private archives consist in principle of three categories of texts, letters, legal documents and a variety of memorandums, notes and lists, and each of these groups, with variation per archive, usually makes up one third to one fourth of the total holdings.<sup>184</sup>

#### *Letters*

Most are business letters of all kinds, many sent from Assur to report on the arrival and equipment of caravans, but also letters sent inside Anatolia, to communicate with people (relatives, partners, agents, personnel) travelling around or living in other colonies. In several cases letters received by Assyrians somewhere in Anatolia, when they were outside Kanesh for business, were in due time taken back home and become part of the archive in Kanesh. In addition there are letters (including those from and to women) dealing with family issues, and more official letters (mentioned above) that ended up in

<sup>178</sup> Dercksen 2001a, with on p. 66 a list of the texts discussed and presented in translation and transliteration.

<sup>179</sup> Recorded in kt a/k 1070:3.

<sup>180</sup> Donbaz 1989a, 1990a, 1993a, 1999, and 2001b.

<sup>181</sup> See Veenhof 1977a, 145 and Dercksen 2004b, 143f. (who identified the damaged KTK 33 as "an additional 'joint household contract'").

<sup>182</sup> Analyzed in Dercksen 2004b, who presents all relevant sources in transliteration and translation in an appendix.

<sup>183</sup> See now also Donbaz 1998c.

<sup>184</sup> See the analysis in Veenhof 2003a, with further bibliographical information.

private archives. The archives in various measure also contain copies of letters sent out and letters sent to Kanesh by traders (like Imdilum) who had in due time returned to Assur and corresponded their sons who now managed the affairs in Kanesh. Letters were sent wrapped in clay envelopes, which mentioned the writer (who also impressed his seal on the envelope) and the addressee(s). Many broken envelopes have been found, but also letters still in their envelopes, presumably either duplicates or never opened because the addressee had left. In some cases a "supplement" (*šibat tuppim*) was added to a letter in the form of a small, thin, round or oval piece of clay inscribed on the convex side only and placed on the tablet and encased in the same envelope.

### *Contracts*

The second category, that of legal documents, consists of two types of texts, contracts and judicial records, both attested in a large variety of types. The contracts are biggest group and comprise hundreds of debt-notes, some of which record true loans, but most financial liabilities resulting from credit sale or commission, both formulated from the point of view of the creditor, who is said "to have a claim on" (*iššēr ... išu*) the debtor.<sup>185</sup> These dated contracts only mention the amount of silver (in some cases also gold, copper or grain) the debtor owes (usually as payment for an amount of merchandise he has received on credit, but which is not mentioned) and the due date, plus the default interest if he fails to meet it. Such claims, especially those on Anatolian debtors, could be secured by pledges and sureties, either when the contract was concluded or when the debtor defaulted, and in the latter case ensuing legal actions, including forfeiture and execution, again generated other types of contracts. Since debt-notes mention the date of the contract and the due date for payment or when default interest becomes due, these texts are the main source of eponymy datings (by both year- and week-eponyms). Their survival usually indicates unpaid debts, but some may have been preserved for administrative purposes, after their sealed envelopes had been broken, which meant the loss of their legal validity. Their counterpart are quittances ("tablet of satisfaction", *tuppum ša šabā'ē*), issued when upon payment the debt-note ("his tablet") could not be returned to the debtor.<sup>186</sup> Other important categories of contracts are those for hiring caravan personnel for the transport of trade goods (called *be'ulātu*-contracts, after the amount of silver they received as an interest-free loan),<sup>187</sup> contracts for the purchase of houses and slaves (which serve as title deeds),<sup>188</sup> and of investments in the trade, usually by making silver available to a trader in order to obtain a share in a joint-stock company (*naruqqum*).<sup>189</sup> In addition there is a variety of contracts in the area of family law, recording adoption, marriage, divorce and inheritance (usually last wills, called *šimtum*), several of which also concern Anatolian inhabitants of the *kārum*,

<sup>185</sup> The standard formulation used in Babylonia, which states that the debtor "has received" (*ŠU BA.AN.TI/ilqe*) something from the creditor is rare in OA (which never uses the Sumerian formulation).

<sup>186</sup> Some texts state that in such cases the original debt-note and the quittance could be exchanged against each other to be canceled ("to die", *mu'ātum*, "to be smashed", *mahāšum*), or that the original debt-note, if it turns up, is invalid (*sar*).

<sup>187</sup> See for these contracts Kienast 1989, supplemented and in part corrected by Veenhof 1994b. The oldest dated contract we have, from eponymy year 47, edited as *EL 97*, with its envelope CCT 6, 23c, is such a service contract.

<sup>188</sup> Treated in Kienast 1984.

<sup>189</sup> See now Larsen 1999.

from whom we also have a kind of brotherhood adoptions and deeds which record the separation from a household (*ištu bētim parāsim*).<sup>190</sup>

### *Judicial records*

Judicial records document all phases of the administration of justice, from private summons and voluntary arbitration to final verdicts by the highest judicial body, the City Assembly. Particularly numerous are depositions and testimonies rendered by witnesses and parties (called *šībūtum*, "testimony", or *tuppum ša šībē*, "tablet of witnesses"), records of oaths sworn (*tuppum ša mamit* PN, "tablet with PN's oath"), and of interrogations (one category of these could be called *nāpaltum*, "answer"). Most are the result of legal confrontations and they usually start by mentioning that one party had "seized" (*šabātum*) the other or both parties, by mutual agreement (*ina migrātišunu*) the persons who were to act as arbiters.<sup>191</sup> In addition we have agreements (*mitgurtum*), various protocols of lawsuits handled by the colonial authorities, and a number verdicts (*dinum*) passed by *wabartums*, *kārums*, the City Assembly, and occasionally by an ad hoc body, such as *EL 283*, passed by "The group of five" (*hamuštum*).<sup>192</sup> A special category are the "powerful tablets" (*tuppum dannum*), sent from Assur, which contained procedural instructions and provisional decisions by the City in favor of one party.

All these records, apart from copies (*mehrum*) made for the benefit of parties and (occasionally) witnesses, originally consisted of a tablet wrapped in a clay envelope, which carried the seals of witnesses, parties and/or judges, normally listed in the text on the envelope as "seal of PN<sub>1</sub> son of PN<sub>2</sub>",<sup>193</sup> and the essence of the text on the tablet. Such tablets were called *tuppum harmum*, "valid deed",<sup>194</sup> and they were carefully preserved in the archives, at times in special containers, identified as such by inscribed labels. The records of this type provide us with probably more than one thousand different seal impressions, both of cylinder seals owned by the Assyrians and of stamp seals used by many Anatolians. They are important not only for studying their technique, style and iconography,<sup>195</sup> but also for reconstructing the sealing procedures,<sup>196</sup> and

<sup>190</sup> See Veenhof 1997a, 145-160, and Dercksen 2004a, 143ff.

<sup>191</sup> There are also a few cases where the parties "seize each other" (*nazbutum*).

<sup>192</sup> Cf. *EL 243*, where "the group of five" (*hamištum*) acted as such in Assur.

<sup>193</sup> These identifications are presented as a list and not as captions written next to the individual seal impressions. This may leave some doubts on the identification of the seal owner, since the order of the seal impressions may vary from that in the list; see Veenhof 1987c. On the tablet inside the envelope the witnesses are listed at the end, introduced by IGI = *mahar*, "in the presence of". Some texts say that a witness, whose seal has been impressed, "lies on the tablet" (*ina tuppim nāl*).

<sup>194</sup> The verb *harāmum* originally means "to cover, encase", but acquires the legal meaning of "to validate" by a seal impression. Texts regularly speak of *šībē harāmum*, "to encase witnesses", which means to have them make a deposition under oath and impress their seals on the encased record of it.

<sup>195</sup> Especially by N. Özgüç in her many publications, notably in N. Özgüç 1965, 1968, 2006 and in Özgüç-Tunca 2001.

<sup>196</sup> Studied by Teissier 1994, which contains an overview of the different types of records which were sealed and the drawings of 677 seal impressions. See Michel 2003c, ch. 4.4, for publications of and literature on the seals and their inscriptions.

for knowing "who is who". This can be established with the help of the text on the envelope or the relatively rare (only ca. ten tot fifteen percent of the seals) inscriptions on the seal itself.<sup>197</sup> When a contractual liability had been met or a contract was cancelled the "valid deed" could be broken or "die".

#### *Lists, memos, drafts, and notes*

The third category of documents is a mixed one and includes all tablets that are neither letters nor legal documents, such as memorandums, notes, list, drafts, copies, etc. Their recent edition by Ulshöfer calls them "private records",<sup>198</sup> because they have no legal force, but this is somewhat misleading, since nearly all records found in the *kārum* are private ones. Many small tablets with less than ten lines of text are notes of current transactions, which in due time would be digested in formal records. Lists register people, frequently with a number of textiles or an amount of silver (received or due?), expenses made (especially during caravan trips), goods and merchandise (grain, wool, textiles, copper, tin, silver, wool) owed, to be received, stored or issued. Special types, found in various archives, are long lists of substantial numbers of breads (in groups of 50, 60 and 100), jugs of beer (*kirrum*), and types of sheep (*lakannum* and *silqum*).<sup>199</sup> The numbers frequently seem to be too big for one family or firm and one wonders whether they reflect a system of collective or shared provisioning, but there are no descriptive texts to explain their purposes. One text registers ca. hundred donkeys, distinguished into two kinds, called *kibšum* and *upqum*, apparently together one big caravan.<sup>200</sup> We also have notes about settlements of accounts, calculations, people, personnel, and witnesses, and there also many drafts, especially of testimonies to be presented as written depositions.<sup>201</sup>

#### *Transport records and memorandums*

Two important types of texts of this third category deserve special mention. The first are records which list amounts of silver and gold (consisting of heavy packets, *nēpešum*, and smaller bundles, *riksum*), each with mention of the person for whom they are meant, which were entrusted to named persons for shipment to Assur. These lists include small amounts of silver or gold, designated as *šēbultum*, meant for women, occasionally as a

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<sup>197</sup> See for the ways in which seal owners can be identified, Veenhof-Klengel Brandt 1991, 54ff.

<sup>198</sup> "Privaturkunden", in the edition of ca. 600 of such texts in Ulshöfer 1995; see the remarks in Veenhof 1997d, 303.

<sup>199</sup> See for example Ulshöfer 1995 nos. 309, 314, 324, 334 (lists in all 3080 breads plus some sheep, oxen, beer and wine), 339, 340, 364, and 370.

<sup>200</sup> TC 3, 192 = Ulshöfer 1995, 371, analyzed in Dercksen 2004a, 279-283.

<sup>201</sup> They owe their existence to the fact that in legal proceedings a number of people, who had acted together (they called each other *tappā'um*, "colleague") as witnesses or arbiters during a private summons, when the case developed into a formal lawsuit, had to render one single testimony (they were called *šībū etamdūtum*, "witnesses in agreement"), which could require consultation and drafts. See Veenhof 2003a, 95f.



gift, but more frequently as payment for textiles they had made and sent to Kanesh for sale in Anatolia.<sup>202</sup>

The second type consists of big memorandums (called *tahsistum*), in which a trader at a particular moment registered all his outstanding claims by excerpting his debt-notes in order to obtain an overview of his assets. Occasionally this was also done because this information had to be sent overland, either to Assur or to a partner elsewhere in Anatolia, who had to collect a number of them.<sup>203</sup> Some contain up to one hundred lines of text and register dozens of apparently yet unfinished transactions. The biggest one known to me<sup>204</sup> registers sixty-two different credit sales and other claims from a period of eighteen years, with a total value of more than three talents of silver.

Both categories are important in giving an overview of a trader's activities, the volume of his trade, its yield, his agents and business partners. But they also present problems, because they frequently are "anonymous", since the creditor who drew up the memorandum did not always mention himself, and in particular because the "transport records" are always written in the first person.<sup>205</sup> They can only be exploited if their writers can be identified, which can be a problem if they are not from regular excavations. This problem can be solved for the memorandums with the help of the names of the debtors and (if mentioned) the witnesses, for the second from the names of recipients of silver and gold. In the latter cases the names of the women are very helpful, since they usually belonged to the writer's family and received the just mentioned small packets of silver and gold. Some such records also mention special persons, e.g. the ruler of Assur, for whom the writer had carried out a commission.<sup>206</sup>

The "transport records" (which are no real contracts, because they are not witnessed) are never dated, so that we cannot use them to calculate the size of the trade in a particular period (assuming we had complete sets of such texts). Larsen used the memorandums to reconstruct the sequence of the year eponyms,<sup>207</sup> and Krsyzat 2004a for his investigations on the chronology of the archives. If we wish to use the memorandums to draw a picture of a trader's business at a particular moment, we must also know how many of the claims listed as outstanding were eventually paid. A large memorandum in the archive of Elamma suggests that most such debts were indeed paid, because only one of the original debt-notes digested in it was still present in the archive when it came to an end; the others apparently had been returned to the debtors upon payment. Such memorandums therefore supply valuable information on earlier phases of the trade, for which original contracts frequently are not longer available.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> See for *šēbultum* and its background, AOAT 140ff., and for examples of such lists Ulshofer 1995, nos. 46ff.

<sup>203</sup> It is occasionally mentioned that this was done because one did not like to send the valuable original records overland.

<sup>204</sup> Kt c/k 839, edited in Donbaz 1985 and analyzed in Veenhof 1985.

<sup>205</sup> The lists of silver etc. shipped to Assur therefore are no transport contracts, but personal memorandums. They are not dated and do not mention the witnesses in whose presence the money was entrusted. One wonders how the transfer of these large amounts of money actually took place and how the property rights of their owners were secured.

<sup>206</sup> Note as examples of how a sender can be identified the cases of CCT 6, 27b and 46b (Ulshöfer 1995, nos. 176 and 177), discussed in Veenhof 1998c, 585.

<sup>207</sup> Larsen 1976, 375ff.

<sup>208</sup> See Veenhof 2003a, h 5, for the meaning of the presence or absence in an archive of such debt-notes.

### 3.2.1.6. SEALED AND INSCRIBED BULLAE

A special category of inscriptions, finally, are those on so-called bullae, clay labels and sealings of different formats (disk shaped, triangular, hemispheroid, etc.), attached to a variety of jars, boxes, packets and other containers, in order to identify and/or safeguard their contents. Some were attached by means of strings, others were pressed on the surface of a basket or a piece of cloth, many were mushroom shaped stoppers which closed the mouth of a jar. They were sealed and frequently carry a short inscription that identifies the contents of a container or a tablet. Occasionally the inscription is longer, especially when the contents of a tablet are summarized, together with the names of those who had sealed it.<sup>209</sup> In all more than four hundred bullae, discovered until 1997, were published in Özgüç-Tunca 2001, with photos and drawings of the seal impressions, the seal inscriptions, and the texts written on ca. 150 bullae. They offer insight into the system of shipment or storage of goods and of safekeeping and classifying groups of tablets in an archive and by their sealings show which persons were involved in these actions. Many bear the inscription *našpertum*, "missive", and identify tablets containing an important statement or authorization with legal force, kept in a sealed package, which had been sent or entrusted to the archive owner and had to be carefully preserved.<sup>210</sup> The exploitation of the information contained in the seal impressions and inscriptions on the bullae is still hampered by the fact most of the archives in which they were found have not yet been published, so that they could not be presented in their archival context. While the general introduction of Özgüç-Tunca 2001 offers important information on their use, several of them bear sequential numbers, which suggests that they were registered as groups of similar objects and not together with the (groups of) tablets to which many of them certainly must have belonged. Studying them together with the archival texts may yield interesting results, also for the identification of the seal impressions.<sup>211</sup>

### 3.2.2. REMAINS OF MATERIAL CULTURE IN KĀRUM KANESH

The excavations of *kārum* Kanesh have yielded a wealth of evidence on the material culture, among which of course the finds made in the houses of the Assyrian traders have our main interest. How many Assyrian traders lived in *kārum* Kanesh is unknown, but a few hundred seems a reasonable guess. In his recent survey of the city and its excavations, the excavator states that, while the lower city as a whole may have had a diameter of at least two kilometers (stretching both east and west of the city-mound), the area where the Assyrians were settled was only a small part of it, measuring ca. 250 by 350 m., situated to the northeast of the city-mound.<sup>212</sup> "The native Anatolians lived

<sup>209</sup> The biggest are the disk shaped kt n/k 1708, with fifteen, and kt 86/k 158, with fourteen lines of script (see Özgüç -Tunca 2001, plates 62 and 90). The second bulla describes the contents of the encased tablet kt 86/k 171 (a deposition under oath) and must have been attached to this separately stored/packed legal record.

<sup>210</sup> Note the description of carefully packed, shipped or stored records, mentioned in Veenhof 2003a, 101.

<sup>211</sup> See e.g. Michel 2000b, 8 and see below II, 1,3.2. on the bullae of the kt v/k archive.

<sup>212</sup> Özgüç 2003, 24f.

in separate and much more extensive quarters of the Lower City", apart from some native traders who were connected with the Assyrians through marriage and business relations and lived in their quarter. Whether this quarter, to which the Assyrian designation *kārum* Kanesh must have applied in a strict sense, was somehow marked off from the rest, is not clear, anyhow not by a wall, since the remains of a "*kārum* wall", discovered in some places, are those of the wall of the lower city as a whole, not of the "Assyrian quarter".<sup>213</sup>

In the "Assyrian quarter" only private houses have been found, not the important "*kārum* house", with housed its archives, administrators and a secretary, had room for storage and deposit, and was also the place where the plenary *kārum* met. Close by, if not a part of the same complex, was the temple of the god Assur, with its "sacred precinct" (*hamrum*), the place of his statue, where the oaths were sworn before his dagger (*patrum*) and his *šugariāʾum* ("knife"?). The "*kārum* house" may have been on the city-mound, which would have allowed the local palace better to check it, or have been situated under the present-day village, immediately north of the city-mound.<sup>214</sup> Dercksen has convincingly argued that "the gate of the *kārum*", mentioned in a few texts, means the entrance to the complex called "*kārum* house",<sup>215</sup> not the entrance to the *kārum* itself as a separate living quarter.

For a volume which deals with ancient Assur and its citizens the question is how to evaluate all the discoveries in the area of material culture, a good overview of which is offered in T. Özgüç 1986, chapters 3-5. It is clear that the houses of the traders and their contents, not surprisingly, reflect the local material culture, because there was only little that the Assyrians could have brought along (or have sent later) from Assur over a distance of a thousand kilometers. One thinks of clothes, belts,<sup>216</sup> and personal possessions, such as ornaments, seals, weapons (a dagger?), cultic figurines, amulets and the like. Only part of these, mainly objects of metal and stone, had a chance of surviving the millennia, and only a few seals have been found. The inhabitants apparently had been able to leave the city before the destruction (there were no unburied skeletons), taking along their seals and other valuable possessions, perhaps alongside a selection of valuable tablets. Most of their graves, under the floors of the houses, which may have contained also some Assyrian items as grave-goods, had been robbed in antiquity, but fortunately the robbers have overlooked some burial gifts.<sup>217</sup> While most of the copper vessels<sup>218</sup> were of Anatolian make and there is evidence for imports from Syria, there were also objects that were of Assyrian or Mesopotamian origin. They comprise bronze

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<sup>213</sup> See the data collected by Dercksen 2004a, 99f.

<sup>214</sup> Suggestion made by Larsen, based on the fact there are a large number of important '*kārum* texts' (including the Statute Texts) among the first tablets discovered. The first discoveries could have been made there, when one dug into the subsoil, e.g. for laying foundations.

<sup>215</sup> Dercksen 2004a, 101f., also on the distinction between *bābum*, "gate", and *abullum*, "city gate" (the latter is once attested in the title "the gatekeeper of the Addahšu Gate"). The title *rabi abullātim*, "chief of the city gates" (in kt g/t 42:8) belongs to an Anatolian man and refers to the gates of the city.

<sup>216</sup> In the letter POAT 18B:9ff. the ruler of Assur promises Pūšu-kēn, who is doing him a favour, "a belt for his waist" (*šakkukam ana qablīka*), and in VS 26, 7:34 the same kind of belt, inlaid with *babbardillu*-stone, is sent from Assur.

<sup>217</sup> See the overview in Özgüç 2003, 242-262, with literature.

<sup>218</sup> See Dercksen 1996, 76f., for tablets listing a great variety of copper and bronze objects.

weapons, spools and belt buckles, and a sampling of pins (especially toggle pins for costume fastening),<sup>219</sup> diadems, rings, beads, and pendants, made of gold, silver, electrum, and precious stones, some with lapis lazuli attachments or inlay. This is confirmed by the discovery in tombs 20 and 25 in Assur of a rich variety of lapis lazuli beads in various shapes, alongside necklaces and bracelets containing beads of gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian, agate, and other semi precious stones.<sup>220</sup> Assyrian origin is also assumed for two gaming boards, discovered in the house of an Assyrian trader in level Ib,<sup>221</sup> but it is not certain that this applies also to the various flat lead figurines of goddesses and divine couples (occasionally also with their children) and the moulds in which they were made, found in houses in both levels of *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>222</sup> They already turn up before the Old Assyrian Period in a very wide area, and Canby points to a certain resemblance with sculpture in Northern Syria. She assumes that their presence and distribution depends on those who possessed or travelled with their moulds, and since the latter were found in the *kārum*, Assyrian traders may well have been among them.<sup>223</sup>

Weights were important in a society of traders, the texts mention them frequently and the excavations have produced them in great numbers; they are usually made of hematite, occasionally also of other types of stones or of lead.<sup>224</sup> Texts distinguish between the weights used by the Assyrians, also called "our weights",<sup>225</sup> and the "local weight" (*aban mātīm*), occasionally also identified as the weight of a particular town, used in particular in connection with copper.<sup>226</sup> The difference between the two

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<sup>219</sup> Such toggle pins, in Akkadian called *tudittum*, made of gold, silver and iron, also occur in texts. Note a "lapis lazuli head of a toggle pin", in kt n/k 695:4f. and kt 93/k 548:5f., "toggle pins with their heads made of [...] stone", in OIP 27, 41:12f., and "x shekels of lapis lazuli, 3 1/3 shekels of *babbardillu*-stone, heads of toggle-pins", in BIN 6, 179:21'ff. See also Michel 2001a, 353ff. "Les usages du lapis-lazuli". Assyrians imported lapis lazuli (called *husārum*) into Anatolia and also traded in carnelian (*sāmtum*). In CCT 4, 24a:l.e 3 f., a lady in Assur complains that she collected all such toggle-pins and handed them over to the City Hall to cover a debt in silver.

<sup>220</sup> See Callmeyer 1976, Harper e.a. 1995, 48ff., and Michel 2001a, 354.

<sup>221</sup> Özgüç 1986, 81f.

<sup>222</sup> Those of level II are called "rather schematic", those of level Ib "take on more realistic features".

<sup>223</sup> See recently Canby 2003, and for those found in *kārum* Kanesh, Emre 1971 and 1993, and now Özgüç 2003, 268-281. Balkan 1992, 18ff. considered some of these figurines proof of the concept of a divine trinity in Anatolia.

<sup>224</sup> See the documentation in Özgüç 1986, 79-81.

<sup>225</sup> In the expression *ina abnātini*, "(established) by means of our weights". There are references to the 1 mina weight of the *kārum* office (*EL* 228:9f., TC 3, 171:13; kt j/k 665:7ff.) and to those belonging to private traders (even one belonging to the lady Lamassatum, see below, II.2.8.3), and note *aban tamkārim* in kt 94/k 1136:30. They are usually mentioned to indicate which weighing stones had been used to establish the weight of a shipment or of silver borrowed and texts may stipulate whose weighing stones have to be used when a loan is paid back.

<sup>226</sup> Note *aban Burushaddim* in Sadberk 16:4f., and *aban Tuḫpia* in kt 93/k 278:2f. (courtesy Michel). Rarely one also meets "the weight of the palace", e.g. in kt 94/k 1023:11f.

standards was determined by their relation (a fraction or a multiple of) the underlying one mina weight, the Assyrian or the local Anatolian, of which the former (of ca. 495 grams) was ca. 10 percent heavier than the latter (of ca. 450 grams). Data on Assyrian weights and their manipulation were first studied in by Veenhof,<sup>227</sup> and the issue was taken up in detail in Dercksen 1996, 80ff. He concluded that the majority of the weighing stones excavated in the *kārum* reflect the Assyrian standard, with weights ranging from 1/12 shekel to 2 minas.<sup>228</sup> Moreover, several duck-shaped weights by their shape betray their Mesopotamian origin.<sup>229</sup>

In general one could say that without the cuneiform tablets with their seal impressions, it would have been rather difficult to identify the inhabitants of the *kārum* as Assyrians. The prolonged stay in Anatolia of many traders, several of which only returned to Assur in old age, may have left some marks on Assyrian material culture and the transport lists show that occasionally, alongside silver and gold, also a few Anatolian items were sent from Anatolia. But such influence is difficult to prove and trace, because no houses of this period have been excavated in Assur.

The main contribution to Assyrian material culture is the rich harvest of seal impressions on tablet envelopes and bullae, which have been thoroughly investigated for their iconography, style and technique, whereby Old Assyrian, Old Babylonia, Syrian, and Anatolian types and a certain mix of them, apparently also due to local production, have been distinguished.<sup>230</sup> The seals themselves were only rarely found, because their owners must have taken them along when they fled the *kārum* and the importance attached to them is clear from their mention in last wills and legal fights.<sup>231</sup>

### 3.3 OTHER SOURCES

There are almost no other sources which shed light on the Old Assyrian Period before the time of Šamši-Adad I. There is very little written evidence for contacts and synchronism with contemporary Babylonia, though we know that Babylonians (called "Akkadians") visited Assur and might try to undertake trips to Anatolia, which a local ruler near the Euphrates had to prevent, according to the draft of a treaty.<sup>232</sup> Commercial contacts with Northern Syria are documented by some texts from *kārum* Kanesh that

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<sup>227</sup> 1972, 54-68, "Weights in Old Assyrian Texts".

<sup>228</sup> The two heaviest weights, of respectively 4250 and 5250 grams, might reflect 10 minas, but the deviation from both norms is very big; BIN 6, 205:10 mentions an Assyrian 10 mina weight, *ešartum mana'um*.

See for details the list in Dercksen 1996, Appendix 5.

<sup>229</sup> Özgüç 1986, 81.

<sup>230</sup> Notably in N. Özgüç 1965, 1968 and 2006, Özgüç -Tunca 2001, Teissier 1994, and in the other literature listed in Michel 2003c, 187-194.

<sup>231</sup> See for seals found in the *kārum*, Özgüç 2003, 293-303. The value of a personal seal is clear from last wills which stipulate who will inherit it; see also Hecker 2004a, 291, on a legal fight about a father's seal. See for textual references to seals, especially those made of lapis lazuli, Larsen 1977, 93 notes 14 and 66, and Michel 2001a, 354f. CCT 5, 9b:26 mentions the transfer of a seal on a trader's deathbed, and BIN 6,7:14 a lapis lazuli seal sent to a trader from Assur by his wife.

<sup>232</sup> Günbattı 2001, 250 note 8, lines 11ff. He has to promise that he will extradite them to the Assyrians who will kill them.

mention that traders from Ebla<sup>233</sup> came to Kanesh to trade. Such contacts also documented by the discovery, in *kārum* Kanesh, of the unique letter kt k/k 4, edited and studied by Hecker,<sup>234</sup> which reflects Syrian scribal traditions. It was sent by a certain Ehli-addu from somewhere in Syria (he mentions the cities Tunip, in the land Huzzi, and Haššum) to Unapše, in Kanesh, and claims that the latter since no less than twenty-five years owes him a some of silver, as people in Haššum can testify. It seems likely that Unapše (who has a Hurrian name, as several others mentioned in the letter as witnesses of the transaction underlying the claim) was a Syrian trader who had moved to or temporarily stayed in Kanesh.<sup>235</sup>

The only important written source is the so-called "Mari Eponym Chronicle" (MEC), which starts in the year of the accession of Naram-Suen of Assur, so that its first part overlaps the end of *kārum* Kanesh level II.<sup>236</sup> But the damaged historical information added to the names of the eponyms does not mention Assur and concerns only the dynasty and realm of Šamsī-Adad's family. Most historical events mentioned in this part refer to confrontations between Amīnum with Eshnunna, especially with the powerful Ipiq-Adad II, who would have become king in 1861 BC.,<sup>237</sup> while for their part the texts from Assur and *kārum* Kanesh, surprisingly, never mention Eshnunna or Ekallātum.

Information in MEC on the years dealing with Šamsī-Adad's early career (his accession, as king of Ekallātum took place in 1834 BC) is very limited. These years are also not covered by the archives of Mari and this is also the period when *kārum* Kanesh lay deserted after having been destroyed in ca. 1837 BC. We have more sources after ca. 1800 BC, from the palace archives of Mari, which cover the period until 1762 BC. Some information on the years before ca. 1792 BC, when Šamsī-Adad I conquered Mari, can be derived from documents from the reign of Mari's king Yahdun-Lim, Šamsī-Adad's main rival in the struggle for the domination of the Jazira, and from a number of texts that refer to earlier history. But they do not mention Assur and only provide some background information. But it is useful to learn which of the important towns in Northern Mesopotamia between Tigris and Euphrates, mentioned in text from

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<sup>233</sup> See ATHE 32:17 (traders from Ebla acquire a lot of copper in the palace of an unnamed Anatolian city, for which they pay in silver), BIN 6, 193 rev. 6' (4 minas of silver of [owed by?] the man of Ebla"); TPAK 109:4 (silver which Š. paid to a man of Ebla on behalf of Suejja); kt 91/k 338 (debt in silver of an Eblaite "who acquired wool"), and kt 94/k 421:28.

<sup>234</sup> Hecker 1990a, cf. 1996b.

<sup>235</sup> The letter shows no link with other texts of the archive and this is also true of the letter kt 91/k 539, addressed to (the same) Unapše by a certain Abduata, which mentions that the former had settled accounts in Mamma. The letter is remarkable for its last lines, already quoted in Veenhof 2003, 17, where Unapše is asked to give a tablet (in which he has recorded a third man's reaction on a proposal to sell textiles) "to a scribe who understands Subarean, to read it". Such texts make us curious for kt 90/k 360, qualified as "texte atypique (Syrie du Nord)" in TPAK p. 59, but not published in that volume.

<sup>236</sup> Birot 1985, with Veenhof 2003, ch. 7. In Birot's edition one eponym (Enna-Suin from M 7481:12) was omitted after 11, so that the dates from there on are always one year later.

<sup>237</sup> To which city Ipiq-Adad's conquest of a ziqqurra, in 1857 BC, refers is unclear as long we do not know where Amīnum reigned (perhaps in Ekallātum?).

Mari and of Šamši-Adad I also occur as caravan stations in texts from *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>238</sup>

When the Mari archives become more eloquent we receive some information on Assur as it functioned within the empire of Šamši-Adad and during the reign of his son Išme-Dagan, and on its commercial activities and caravans, even in periods of political tension and war, when trade continued.<sup>239</sup> These data were recently analyzed in Charpin-Durand 1997<sup>240</sup> and their conclusions will be used in the next chapter. Two interesting texts, relevant for the trade of Assur and on Kanesh, were recently published by Ziegler and by Durand.<sup>241</sup> In the first, probably written from Karkemish, the writer promises his lord (Zimrilim) all kinds of desirable luxury items (*aš/alū*), which he hopes to receive from Kanesh, Harsamna and Hattuša. In the second a certain Habdu-mālik, a prominent trader in Assur,<sup>242</sup> proposes Iddin-Numušda, the "overseer of the merchants" in Mari, because "he in Mari and I myself in Assur and Kanesh, we are men of fame" (*awil šumi*), to come to an agreement on commercial cooperation by meeting each other's wishes for fine merchandise. The letter is accompanied by an itemized gift and an order for specific types of textiles, whose value in silver the man in Mari should state in writing when sending them. Habdu-mālik is even willing to seal the agreement by a marriage between his son and Iddin-Numušda's daughter.<sup>243</sup> The letter nicely illustrates the desire for foreign luxury items and the role of commercial cooperation by mutual exchange on the basis of a personal relationship.

A scattering of other data on Assur is found in a variety of texts from in Northern Mesopotamia, in cities such as Qaṭṭarā (Tell Rimah), Šehnā/Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan), Chagar Bazar, and Tuttul (Tell Bi'a), which had been integrated into Šamši-Adad's empire<sup>244</sup> and/or had contacts with the city on the Tigris, also after this empire had collapsed.<sup>245</sup> These sources have recently been listed in Charpin and Ziegler 2003, 20ff. and Charpin 2004, 448ff, and they will also receive attention in Eidem's

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<sup>238</sup> From east to west: Qaṭṭarā, Razamā, Apūm, Puhudar (presumably identical to OA Puhidar), Eluhhut, Talhayum (OA Talhat), Nehria, Zalpa, and Uršu. But Kahat, Nagar, Emar, and Karkemish do not occur in OA texts. Tuttul has recently turned up in *kitām ša Tū-tū-ul*, kt 93/k 196:6 (courtesy Michel).

<sup>239</sup> See for the commerce of Mari, Michel 1996 and the literature listed in Charpin 2004, 471f.

<sup>240</sup> Their analysis is supplemented by Ziegler 2002, with the important correction that the occurrences of *ālum*, "the city", after all do refer to the city of Assur.

<sup>241</sup> Ziegler 1996 and Durand 2001.

<sup>242</sup> Perhaps a *wakil tamkāre*, a function which first appears during the Later Old Assyrian Period, see below, III, 2. 3.

<sup>243</sup> A sequel to this letter shows that the man of Mari has not yet accepted this proposal. That the Assyrian calls himself "your son" is rather an indication of the urgency of his request than an admission of real difference in status.

<sup>244</sup> This explains why they used Assyrian eponymy datings, occasionally (e.g. in Qaṭṭarā) even after the empire of Šamši-Adad I no longer existed.

<sup>245</sup> Note a.o. the letters OBTR 120-122, written to Iltani, the queen of Qaṭṭarā, by her sister Lamassani, a priestess in Assur, who invokes Aššur's blessing (the reading DINGIR *Kaniš*<sup>ki</sup> in 122:4 is not acceptable), speaks of regular caravans between Assur and Qaṭṭarā, and sent her sister "2 quarts(!) of acorns (hazelnuts?) of Kanesh" (122:15f.).

contribution to this volume. I will only refer to them in the next chapter if they contain important information on Assur.

Assur of course also occurs in texts from Babylonia proper, apart from the reference to it in the prologue (IV:53-58) of Hammurabi's collection of laws (see ch. 1.1.3). Most references, again, document commercial relations with Assur, especially during the early years of Samsu-iluna's reign, when Babylonian traders visited the town on the Tigris and Assyrians traders went to and even lived in Sippar for that purpose. The relevant texts show "that there were regular contacts between Aššur and Sippar; men, women, silver and goods travel in both directions, a. o. as gifts (*tāmartum*) and "packets" (*riksum*)".<sup>246</sup> Some records found in Sippar contain excerpts of bonds that mention the Assyrian "weight of the City Hall" and even use Assyrian eponymy datings, which shows that the records had been drawn up in Assur with Assyrian clients or partners. It is interesting to note that these records show that the "overseers of the merchants" in Sippar were important customers of a trader active in Sippar, who was most probably of Assyrian origin.<sup>247</sup> On the whole, however, the information is limited and only reveals that Assur still was an important trading city, a fact which is confirmed by its treaty with the ruler of Šehna/Apūm from ca. 1740 BC, edited by Eidem 1991, and by the evidence from houses in level Ib of *kārum* Kanesh.

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<sup>246</sup> Veenhof 1991b (the quote is from p. 301). See also the letters *AbB* 12, 54-60, of the Babylonian trader Awil-ili, who does business in Assur.

<sup>247</sup> See Veenhof 1991b, 300ff.



## II. RESEARCH ON THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

### 1 EARLY RESEARCH AND TEXT PUBLICATIONS

#### 1.1. RESEARCH UNTIL 1963

The early history of the research has been well described in Garelli's *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Garelli 1963) and in what follows I will only point out the main trends. After the problems of the origin of the tablets, their writing and language had been solved, progress was only possible thanks to the publication of cuneiform copies of the hundreds of OA texts acquired by a few great museums (London, Paris, Istanbul, the Yale Babylonian collection) and by some smaller collections. On the basis of these texts a small number of scholars laid the groundwork of Old Assyrian research. Landsberger, who already in 1925 published a pioneering synthesis,<sup>248</sup> Gelb, who edited the texts found at Alişar Höyük,<sup>249</sup> and in particular Julius Lewy, who edited several smaller collections and before 1940 published a dozen articles on OA history, language and institutions. His main and lasting accomplishment was *EL* (1930-35), the systematic edition of all 340 legal documents ("Rechtsurkunden") known by that time, provided with a rich commentary, which after seventy years retains its value. Co-author was the legal historian G. Eisser, who was the first to present a provisional "Urkundelehre".<sup>250</sup> Unfortunately the "juristische Erläuterungen" on the texts, which the preface of *EL* describes as "eine zusammenfassende, rechtsvergleichende Darstellung des in den Urkunden enthaltenen altassyrischen Rechts" and to which the authors repeatedly refer, were never completed and published.

After the second world war the Turkish excavations of Kanesh, started in 1948, with a first report already available in 1950,<sup>251</sup> provided a new impetus, soon followed by the first volume of texts excavated by Hrozny, ICK 1 of 1952, publications which also stimulated the study of the seal impressions.<sup>252</sup> A fifth volume of texts in the British Museum (CCT 5) appeared in 1955, followed by Kienast's edition of texts in Heidelberg and Basel (ATHE, 1960). Bilgiç 1951 and Lewy 1952 studied the geography, Landsberger 1954 dealt with the chronology, while the study of the language, the OA dialect that had created many problems, made progress thanks to contributions by Landsberger, Lewy, Oppenheim, and Bilgiç.<sup>253</sup> It matured in its treatment in von Soden's *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* of 1956, in the *CAD*, which started in the same year and could use transliterations of OA texts supplied by

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<sup>248</sup> Landsberger 1925.

<sup>249</sup> Gelb 1935.

<sup>250</sup> Eisser 1939.

<sup>251</sup> The first excavation report, Özgüç 1950, and the edition of the inscription of Erişum I, in Landsberger-Balkan 1950.

<sup>252</sup> ICK 1 and the second excavation report, Özgüç 1953, contained many illustrations of seal impressions. Both publications could profit from earlier work on the seals, notably by H. Frankfort and E. Porada. The first comprehensive studies were N. Özgüç 1965 (on Anatolian seals) and 1968 (on seals from level Ib. An overview was also presented by Tosun 1965).

<sup>253</sup> Bilgiç 1954 studied the native Anatolian appellatives found in the texts.

Julius Lewy, and later in Hecker's *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte* (1968).<sup>254</sup> A first general overview of the OA trading colonies was presented in Goetze 1957, while Hirsch in 1961 studied the religion, including all the theophorous personal names.<sup>255</sup>

The new material also stimulated the analysis of the political context and institutional structure of Old Assyrian trade, on which there still was no consensus. Elaborating on views already expressed before the war, Julius Lewy in various articles defended the thesis of an Assyrian domination of central Anatolia and assumed the existence of a political structure called "Halys Assyria",<sup>256</sup> issues on which Landsberger disagreed with him.<sup>257</sup> Lewy also objected the proposal in Balkan 1955, 41ff., based on the new discoveries at Kanesh, to distinguish *kārum* Kanesh level II, the main period of Assyrian colonial presence, from a younger level Ib. The latter would have started after a substantial gap and have been contemporary with the Assyrian commercial settlements discovered in Alişar Hüyük and Hattuša (Boğazköy).<sup>258</sup> The discussion on these issues absorbed a lot of attention and time, which unfortunately slowed down the edition of the texts and a reconstruction of the nature and the patterns of the trade itself. It was the great merit of P. Garelli's *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (1963) to have shown that in Old Assyrian trade did not follow the flag and that no "Halys Assyria" existed, although the political statute of the colonies in relation to both Assur and the local Anatolian kingdoms still needed further definition. He hesitated on the chronological issue, but it was soon resolved by the data which Balkan extracted from the newly excavated texts, to which also the discovery of the famous letter of Anum-hirbi of Mamma, addressed to king Waršama of Kanesh (Balkan 1957) and found in the palace of Kanesh contemporary to level Ib, contributed. But details of the chronology - the length of the periods of *kārum* level II and Ib, the dates of their beginnings and ends, the dating of archives and careers of prominent traders - in the absence of an eponym lists for many decades remained unclear and research on these matters consumed a lot of time.<sup>259</sup>

In order to answer the questions of political structure and chronology, Garelli 1963 undertook a comprehensive analysis of many aspects of the Old Assyrian material, and dealt also with the geography and itineraries, the composition of Anatolian population, the nature and roles of *kārum* and locale palaces, and the trade (notably the credit system) and the merchandise. Orlin's *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* of 1970 also intended to solve the issue of the political status of the Assyrian colonies in Anatolia, but

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<sup>254</sup> See also the thorough review by Hirsch, *OrNS* 41 (1972) 390-421.

<sup>255</sup> Reprint, with substantial additions in 1972; see also Garelli 1962.

<sup>256</sup> Already in 1923 and 1925, and especially in Lewy 1956 and 1958.

<sup>257</sup> Their disagreement on the meaning of *Hattum*, *māt Hattim* and *Hattuš* in OA texts was fought out in subsequent volumes of the *Festschrift* for B. Hrozný (*ArOr* 18/I-III, 1950).

<sup>258</sup> Lewy 1957, reacting on Balkan 1955. Lewy also believed in the presence of an important Amorite element in Old Assyrian culture, a view that is difficult to substantiate (see I.1.1). Many of his views on these matters are also found in H. Lewy 1971, two chapters contributed to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, published separately already in 1965f.

<sup>259</sup> See Larsen 1976, 375ff., Matouš 1978, and Veenhof 1985 and 1998. A copy of the eponym list had already been excavated in 1962, but was not been identified. Part of another eponym list, ICK 2, 345, had been found in 1925 by Hrozný, but could not be recognized, because it only contains the beginning of the list, with eponyms not attested in the later archival texts.

for all its merits, its approach was less broad and the command of the sources less solid. Moreover, its basic manuscript, completed in 1963, somewhat reworked in 1965, and was only published in 1970, which meant that there could be no serious discussion with nor progress beyond Garelli's results.<sup>260</sup> Neither Garelli nor Orlin, moreover, could use the second volume of texts from Hrozny's excavations, ICK 2, published in 1962.<sup>261</sup>

Garelli 1963 proved to be a kind of watershed and stimulated further research, which unfortunately still could not use the thousands of texts excavated since 1948. Balkan, the epigraphist of the Turkish excavation, probably read many of them found during the first ten years of the excavation, used their data for his studies on the chronology and in several articles,<sup>262</sup> but a systematic edition of the archives was not realized. Research therefore still had to be based mainly on the texts excavated by Hrozny and those in Istanbul and western museums, published earlier in cuneiform copies, which I will henceforth call "old texts". But many of the latter, deriving from the same archives as those published, were also still inaccessible and there was a general lack of systematic editions and prosopographic tools as a basis for further research. To make progress more was needed than the information culled from many scattered records, in particular the reconstruction of the archives and the operations of the individual trading firms that were the backbone of the trade and its commercial success.

Mainly based on "old text" and on Garelli 1963, Hirsch 1973 wrote a survey the Old Assyrian trading society for *RIA* 4, under the lemma "Handelskolonien". In *RIA* 5, under the lemma "Kaniš, *kārum*", new surveys were published in three parts, "A. Philologisch" (Veenhof 1980),<sup>263</sup> "B. Archäologisch", by W. Orthmann, and "C. Glyptik", by E. Porada. In addition several articles in *Studies Landsberger* and *Studies Matouš* provided new data and insights.

## 1.2. WORK ON 'OLD TEXTS'

### 1.2.1. PUBLICATION OF 'OLD TEXTS'

After 1963 the identification and publication of groups of "old" texts", which belonged to the by now well known archives of important traders, but had been scattered by antique dealers and were preserved in a great number of public and private collections, made good progress. The most important publications were Garelli 1964-1966 (texts in France and Switzerland), KUG (texts in Giessen, 1966), KTK (collections in the USSR, 1968), and CCT 6 (London 1975). They were followed in later years by KTS 2 (1989) and *Sadberg* (1999, both in Istanbul), CTMMA 1 (1988, in New York), Michel 1987 (in the Louvre), and VS 26 (1992, texts in Berlin). We can now add Prag I (1998), which includes many texts belonging to 'old' archives, excavated and acquired by Hrozny in 1925.<sup>264</sup> A few smaller groups of "old texts" were included in editions with

<sup>260</sup> See the evaluation in Larsen 1974 and the review by Matouš in *BiOr* 29 (1972) 198ff.

<sup>261</sup> It counts 348 texts, but many are (fragmentary) envelopes belonging to texts published in ICK 1, see the review Balkan 1965b, the remarks in the introduction to Prag I, and the observations by Kryszat 2001, 268ff.

<sup>262</sup> Balkan 1955, 1957, 1965, 1967, 1974, and 1992.

<sup>263</sup> Who could use Larsen 1976.

<sup>264</sup> Part of these texts seem to have been found in the remains of houses already dug up by the local inhabitants, others were apparently acquired

mainly officially excavated texts: nine from Chicago as OIP 27, 54-62, eleven from the Istanbul Museum as KTS 2, 1-11,<sup>265</sup> and eighteen from the Ankara Museum as AKT 1, 1-18. In addition, over the years many small groups<sup>266</sup> and even single new texts,<sup>267</sup> kept in a great variety of small museums and private collections were identified and published

The few groups of "old texts" still to be published are a few dozen in the Yale Babylonian Collection, a dozen in the Adana Museum, small groups in the Los Angeles County Museum and in the Museum in Bruxelles,<sup>268</sup> and the ca. twenty-five texts acquired by the Schøyen Collection (Norway). Bigger groups are the ca. 160 texts in the Kayseri Museum<sup>269</sup> and the ca. 110 texts and fragments in the De Liagre Böhl Collection in Leiden.<sup>270</sup> A group of ca. 40 unpublished 'old texts', originally in private collections (among them the Kalley Collection) are available in partly provisional transliterations, usually quoted as C+number, made by B. Landsberger, but the whereabouts of most are at present unknown, which is also the case with some smaller German private collections, from which Lewy published and quoted some texts.<sup>271</sup>

### 1.2.2 RECONSTRUCTION AND EDITION OF ARCHIVES

The realization that all 'old' texts belonged to a group of perhaps fifteen different archives belonging to family firms, made it desirable to reconstruct and edit these, to allow the study of the firms, which could serve as building stones for a more general analysis. The easiest approach was to edit letters written by and/or received by the same person, and contracts and judicial records in which he was a party (creditor, involved in a lawsuit, buyer, giving goods in consignment for transport, hiring personnel, etc.). An early attempt was that by Van der Meer 1932, who edited 75 letters of Püshkän, but after that it took almost fifty years before another attempt was made. In the

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locally, see Prag I, p. XVI-XXII, with the detailed observations in Dercksen 2002.

<sup>265</sup> Surprisingly also published as AKT 1, 19-29.

<sup>266</sup> Duly listed in Michel 2003c, 4-52 and 154ff. Note in particular Dalley 1979 (Edinburgh Museum), Donbaz 1991a, Donbaz-Horansanlı 1976, Donbaz-Veenhof 1985, Garelli 1957, Larsen 1978, Mayer-Wilhelm 1975, Larsen-Møller 1991, Michel-Foster 1989, Moren 1980, Sturm 2000, and Wilcke 1982.

<sup>267</sup> Biggs 1996, Donbaz 1984, 1990b, Farber 1990; Garelli 1982, Garelli-Homès-Fredericq 1987, Veenhof 1980, 1984b, and 1989.

<sup>268</sup> Both have been copied by Veenhof.

<sup>269</sup> Transliterations of most of them are known, made by Landsberger, Gelb, Hecker, and Veenhof. A few were edited by Hecker and nine were included in Michel 1991d. See for details Michel 2003c, 41f.

<sup>270</sup> Many of them are fragmentary, some are included in Ichisar 1982 and Michel 1991d. See for details Michel 2003c, ch. 1.1.

<sup>271</sup> The collections of Neukirch (one text transliterated in *EL* I, p. 231, note d), Winkensch (no. 7 quoted in *EL* II, p. 180). Rosenberg (two texts published as *EL* 36 and 278), Schmidt (two texts published as *EL* 246 and 303), and Tübingen (two texts published as *EL* 263 and 325a). The envelope of sSchmidt 1S = *EL* 303B has now turned up in a private German collection (information S. Maul). Two of the tablets transliterated by Landsberger, numbered C 26 and C 34 (from the Kalley Collection) in the mean time have been acquired by the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem (information J. Goodnick Westenholz).

mean time there were a few attempts at reconstructing parts of or small archives or "dossiers". Very instructive is Matouš 1969, an edition and analysis of a dozen records dealing with the legal fight about the inheritance of the prominent trader Puzur-Aššur.<sup>272</sup> A reconstruction of a small archive of an Anatolian businessman was attempted in Veenhof 1978.

An obvious candidate for the reconstruction of a large archive was that of Imdilum, partly dug up and sold by local diggers, partly excavated by Hrozný in 1925, even though not all the information on his discoveries (find spots and excavation numbers of the tablets) had survived the second world-war.<sup>273</sup> In the same year Larsen 1982a published a thorough analysis of this archive and Ichisar 1982 classified and edited all ca. 200 texts from it, with an introduction and prosopographic indexes. Both publications demonstrated the potential of such an undertaking, but also the difficulty of identifying additional archival texts, especially those called "Privaturkunden" by Ullshöfer 1995, while also letters and legal documents still presented many problems. Letters written by Imdilum normally would not be part of his archive, but we know (because he himself stated so)<sup>274</sup> that he made archival copies of some of them, and the archive also contained letters written by him after his return to Assur and addressed to his son who stayed in Kanesh. As for the judicial records, especially depositions drawn up in connection with legal fights, it is not always clear which of the two parties would have owned a text and in some cases two copies may have been made. Finally, we know that traders for a variety of reasons could give records in deposit with a partner or friend (*ana nabsēm ezābum*), while valid records of debt-claims could also be transferred or handed over as pledges and therefore be found in somebody else's archive.<sup>275</sup> Editions around 1980, moreover, were still somewhat premature, because of unsolved lexical problems (especially the technical, commercial jargon), while the existence of substantial numbers of unpublished 'old' texts made them by definition incomplete.<sup>276</sup> In the absence of complete lists of names and prosopographical studies it also proved difficult and at least very time consuming to establish the relationship between and identity of the main persons (family members, business partners, personnel), which was made more difficult by the big number of namesakes.<sup>277</sup>

Since reconstructing a real archive proved problematic, Michel 1991d used another approach, as is clear from its title, *Innāya dans les tablettes paléo-assyriennes*. Assembling all texts that concern Innāya (and there proved to be two important traders

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<sup>272</sup> More texts can now be added to this file, see the comments on Prag I 633 (which is a duplicate of BIN 6, 188).

<sup>273</sup> See Larsen 1982, 213-18, and the observations in Dercksen 2002 on the find spots of the tablets. Hrozný published a preliminary report on his work in *Syria* 8 (1927) 1-12, and see also his observation in the 'Avant-propos' of ICK 1.

<sup>274</sup> In CCT 2, 6:14f. Imdilum writes: "I keep copies of all the letters which I have been sending you".

<sup>275</sup> See Veenhof 2001, 132f.

<sup>276</sup> The number of ca. 200 Imdilum texts, used by Ichisar 1982, can now be increased by ca. sixty percent, especially thanks to VS 26 and Prag I. Another problem was that Ichisar was unable to collate the originals of most of the texts he edited.

<sup>277</sup> Imdilum fortunately had no namesake, but the two different Innāya's gave Michel 1991d a lot of problems. See for the pitfalls of archival reconstruction also the recent survey in Kryszat 2004a, 7-12, followed by an analysis of the dating of six archives, including that of Imdilum.

of that name), she offered a picture of both men, their families and business, and in a separate volume (after collation) edited in all 285 relevant texts. Among the texts there are, of course, many which never belonged to their archives – such as letters of other traders which mention an Innāya and a variety of contracts and judicial records in which they figure only as witness<sup>278</sup> - but some of these do contain valuable information on them. This is perhaps a more realistic approach for archives scattered by dealers, but here too the problem remains of linking "Privatorkunden" with both men, and the existence of two namesakes required a large amount of prosopographical analysis and discussion.

The decision how to edit "old" texts is inevitably also conditioned by practical considerations, because it will never be possible to reconstruct a scattered archive. Imdilum's one, edited by Ichisar, could serve as an example, but is a special case, because the surviving data on the excavation of his house allowed him to assign to it texts which would not normally be identifiable as such.<sup>279</sup> The approach on which those cooperating in the new "Old Assyrian Text Project" have agreed is visible in the project's first volume, M.T. Larsen's *The Aššur-nādā Archive* (OAA 1, 2002), which brings the edition of 176 texts, 135 of which are letters and 40 a variety of other records, which could be shown to have belonged to or could be linked with the archive, which is appropriately called "the Aššur-nādā dossier". The long introduction offers general observations on the problems and possibilities of archival reconstruction, an overview of the texts, and a reconstruction of the family, firm and business of Aššur-nādā who had settled in Kanesh, and his father Aššur-idī, who lived in Assur. Additional volumes of this type are planned for the next years and it is hoped that they will be able to profit from the results of prosopographical research undertaken by J.G. Derksen, at first probably in the form of a complete list of names and text references, which is vital in view of the extraordinary large number of different persons and namesakes which occur in the texts. The availability of the eponym list now makes it possible to establish during which period a trader or firm was active and when some of its important members served in official capacities, as year eponym (*limum*) in Assur or as week eponym (*hamuštum*) in Kanesh.<sup>280</sup>

### 1.3. WORK ON TEXTS EXCAVATED SINCE 1948

<sup>278</sup> To what extent witnesses received copies of records they had 'signed' is not known. Michel is inclined to assume it for more cases than the present writer, who prefers to restrict it to important records, such as depositions, and considers it unlikely that witnesses of debt-notes received copies of the contract. That parties in view of a lawsuit wished "to make solid" (*dannunum*) their witnesses - i.e. to make sure they would appear and render a reliable testimony - in my opinion implies that they had no written depositions available and that one realized the problem of testimonies from memory in complicated matters, which is nicely illustrated by *POAT* 9.

<sup>279</sup> Curiously, a number of texts found in the archive were not edited by Ichisar, but only quoted and discussed in the introduction, because Imdilum did not figure in them. This concerns a.o. a small group of records which belonged to one of his transporters (who also carried out some business of his own) and who did not own a house and apparently had deposited his records somewhere in Imdilum's archival room.

<sup>280</sup> A complete list of the week eponyms is now available in Kryszat 2004a, 164-197, and he has also prepared an alphabetical list with all dated references to persons.

## 1.3.1. THE FIRST VOLUMES PUBLISHED

The excavations of Kanesh, started in 1948, have thus far yielded ca. 18.000 cuneiform tablets, the overwhelming majority from archives found in level II of the *kārum*, ca. 340 from houses of level Ib, and ca. 40 from the city-mound. As mentioned above (1.3.2.1) the exact number of archives is not yet clear and some assignments to particular traders must be preliminary, until the texts have been published and a complete ground-plan, which identifies the houses of the individual trading families becomes available. It was only in 1990 that the systematic edition of these texts started and the results, however welcome in providing important new textual sources, from an archival point of view are less satisfactory.<sup>281</sup>

The three volumes of the new AKT series, published between 1990 and 1995,<sup>282</sup> contain in all 256 texts, but 33 of them are "old" texts from Ankara and Istanbul (AKT 1, 1-33). Most of the remaining texts stem from three archives, excavated in 1948 (kt a/k, AKT 1, 34-78),<sup>283</sup> 1962 (kt n/k, AKT 2, 60 texts), and 1970 (kt v/k, AKT 3, 1-114). The texts published in AKT 1 and 2 belong to very big archives; the first, of Adad-šulūi, comprised ca. 800 texts,<sup>284</sup> the second, of Ušur-ša-lštar, ca. 2000 texts,<sup>285</sup> so that we know only small parts of each of them. Moreover, the three volumes do not offer a general description of the archives and of the circumstances of their discovery.<sup>286</sup> AKT 3 contains 114 texts of the archive excavated in 1970,<sup>287</sup> which belonged to Ennum-Aššur and Dān-Aššur, sons of Šalim-ahum,<sup>288</sup> which in all must have contained ca. 170 tablets and envelopes. Four tablets published elsewhere were not included and in particular 46 tablets in sealed envelopes are lacking.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>281</sup> See also Michel 1998c, on the newly published archives.

<sup>282</sup> Vols. 1 and 2 as *Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri*, by the Türk Tarih Kurumu in Ankara, in 1990 and 1995; vol. 3 as *Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte*, as Beiheft of the FAOS series, in Stuttgart, in 1995.

<sup>283</sup> AKT 1, 79-82 are tablets belonging to a small group found in 1971, of which 79 and 81 are from the city mound and 80 and 82 from the *kārum*.

<sup>284</sup> See for this archive Michel 2003c, 60-67 and the overview in Dercksen 1996, 93f., with Kryszat 2004a, 23-25.

<sup>285</sup> See Michel 2003c, 83-91 and Dercksen 1996, 140-49. S. Bayram, S. Şeşen and C. Günbattı have done much work on this large, important archive and published selected texts from it, and it is to be hoped that the bulk of the texts will be published in the near future.

<sup>286</sup> Adad-šulūi's house is situated in grid squares F-G/9-10, see Özgüç 1950, 142ff., supplemented by 1953, 111f. (the second groundplan from the left in the top row in Özgüç 2003, 26) The house of Ušur-ša-lštar is in grid squares C-D/11-12, as described in Özgüç 1986, 5f., with 116 fig. 10.

<sup>287</sup> Grid M/10, see Özgüç 1986, 88, with 116 fig.15, and pl. 24, 1-2. AKT 3, 1 and 2 (kt v/k 2b and 8, the first two texts excavated in that year), as their year eponyms show, belong to the level Ib period.

<sup>288</sup> Šalim-ahum was Pūšu-kēn's main business partner and it is therefore not surprising that the archive contains a few letters addressed to Pūšu-kēn and Dān-Aššur together, AKT 3, 72-74; 75 is a copy of a letter sent by the latter two to Šalim-ahum, 76 a letter of Pūšu-kēn alone.

<sup>289</sup> See the survey in Michel 2003c, 93f. Kt v/k 152 was published in Donbaz-Veenhof 1985, 147; kt v/k 147a/b in Donbaz 2003; kt v/k 186 is the envelope of kt v/k 47 = AKT 3, 15.

The fourth volume, TPAK, published by C. Michel and P. Garelli in 1997, is much more satisfactory. It contains in all ca. 230 texts, apparently the archives of two different traders, excavated in 1990 in grid squares LVIII-LIX/132-134, and the circumstances of their discovery are described in the "Avant-propos" by the excavator. This volume contains a good introduction and for the first time allows an analysis of the contents of an complete excavated archive, but it still presents a variety of problems, which I mention in the next paragraph in order to show how difficult the task of the epigraphist is and how much he depends on the cooperation with the excavator.<sup>290</sup>

### 1.3.2. PROBLEMS OF ARCHIVAL RECONSTRUCTION AND EDITION

The first problem is that not all texts excavated as part of a particular archive were or could be published in an edition. In the previous paragraph I already mentioned that AKT 3 lacks a few dozen tablets that belonged to the archive as excavated. The problems with TPAK are of a different kind. The texts it publishes in great majority are those of the two main archives, those of Šumi-abiya and Aššur-mutappil, excavated in 1990 (kt 90/k), but fourteen of them belong to an archive excavated in 1989,<sup>291</sup> apparently that of Ikuppi-Aššur (or Ikuppia), son of Ilia, studied by Y. Kawasaki, which comprises the tablets kt 89/k 191-274.<sup>292</sup> A few texts in TPAK are from the later period of level Ib,<sup>293</sup> and both groups should have been kept separate in the edition. It is also regrettable that not all texts found in 1990 could be included,<sup>294</sup> and this also concerns kt 90/k 111, 112, 206-207, 209-210, called "objets archéologiques divers" in the descriptive catalogue. They prove to be sealed and (in four cases) inscribed bullae, originally attached to packets and tablet containers of the archive, which were published a few years later in Özgüç-Tunca 2001.<sup>295</sup> This meant that the epigraphists could not use them together with the archival texts to which they must have belonged. The edition of the bullae contains another surprise, because on p. 220, under the heading "Bullae from Šumiabiyā's Archive", we read that it contained seventeen bullae, also those with excavation numbers kt 91/k 112-122, which were found in the next year, apparently because the excavation of the 1990 house could not be completed in 1991. Professor Özgüç, who kindly provided me with a description of the discovery of the 1991 archives, mentions that kt 91/k 100-113 "have been found in a scattered pattern" and in the "Avant-propos" of TPAK he already observed that the removal, in 1991, of level Ib houses built on top of the ruins of the level II house excavated in 1990 allowed him to reach tablets which were not accessible then, and this may well apply to

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<sup>290</sup> See for what follows also the review by Dercksen 1998.

<sup>291</sup> The excavator states that they were scattered and found when the area excavated in 1989 was cleaned.

<sup>292</sup> Note that the last group of tablets found in 1990, kt 90/k 429ff., according to TPAK p. 15, belongs to a different archive, apparently again that of Ikuppi-Aššur (or Ikuppia) as is clear from letters addressed to him, the bulk of which was excavated in 1989.

<sup>293</sup> Anyhow nos. 110 and 121, with a late year eponym and the month-name Suen.

<sup>294</sup> We lack kt 90/k 358+359 and especially 360, called "texte atypique (Syrie du Nord)". Kt 90/k 178, a tablet with two incantations, was published in Michel 2004a.

<sup>295</sup> Descriptions on p. 220ff., drawings of the seals on pl. 28ff., copies of the inscriptions on p. 289f.



the group kt 91/k 123-246.<sup>296</sup> It is a pity that the editors of this archive were not aware of this complication, which made their volume incomplete.

A second problem is the relation between the two main persons in the archive, Aššur-mutappil and Šumi-abiya, who apparently worked together, but whose relationship, described in TPAK, is not very clear, also because some letters which might have cleared it up (nos. 18 and 19, addressed to both men together) remained inaccessible in unopened envelopes. Judging from the texts the house may have belonged to Šumi-abiya and we find also debt-notes in which his father and brother figure as creditors, while he himself occurs in one record (no. 84), dated to eponymy year 118. Aššur-mutappil, on the other hand, whose dated activities fall ten to fifteen years later,<sup>297</sup> is not represented by debt-notes and of the good twenty letters addressed to him there are five in unopened envelopes, which suggests that he had left and that (part of) his archive had been deposited in Šumi-abiya's house.<sup>298</sup> These observations, derived from the texts, should be related to those made by the excavator, who mentions (TPAK, Avant-propos) that 75 tablets were found *in situ*, on the floor, in a corner of the archive room of the house, while the remaining 184 were found scattered among debris which filled the ruined rooms and probably had fallen down from an upper story which had collapsed. This valuable observation apparently reached the editors of the volume too late to use it for classifying the texts and this also meant that they could not address the questions raised by the find-spots of some of the tablets, which is also of interest for the archaeologists. While most letters addressed to Aššur-mutappil were found in the debris, three (nos. 17 - very similar to 1 - 21 and 10a) were discovered on the floor,<sup>299</sup> but the envelope of letter 10a turned up in the debris. It is not clear what this means, because it is difficult to visualize what happened when the roof collapsed and because we do not know how the tablets were stored on the upper floor (in containers, on shelves along the wall or simply in heaps?). Some of the first tablets to fall down may have ended up on the floor of the room, while the others became scattered in the debris. If so, the division indicates that the lot of Aššur-mutappil may have been stored on the upper floor, but apparently also the bulk of the debt-notes of Šumi-abiya. Lots of both therefore may have been kept separate not by storing them on two different floors, but by keeping them in separated containers and it is clear that exact information on the find spots of the bullae of this archive would have been most welcome.

A last problem is that none of the volumes mentioned contains photo's or drawings of the seal impressions on the envelopes, while AKT 3 does not even include the sealed and inscribed envelopes, with or without tablets inside. The underlying decisions imply that the text editions are incomplete, because important documents could not be deciphered and names of the persons sealing (as parties or witnesses), listed with their patronymics

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<sup>296</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that kt 91/107 is the tablet which belongs to the envelope kt 90/k 212 and that the bulla kt 91/k 122 bears the inscription "Tablet of Urdum, son of Atata, of the price of his slave-girl", while the letter kt 91/157, written by Šumi-abiya, in line 5 deals with "the slave-girl of Urdum". Kt 91/k 165 is a letter written by Iddin-Aššur to Urdum, Šumi-abiya and Kunnunu, which probably belongs with the bulla kt 91/k 119, with the inscription "Seal of Kunnunu, son of Abtanānum, [missi]ve of Iddin-Aššur, son of Babālum".

<sup>297</sup> He still occurs in kt i/k 124, dated to eponymy year 133.

<sup>298</sup> Or he may have acquired this house; see also TPAK p. 34.

<sup>299</sup> While most dated debt-notes, including nos. 78-80 and 82 of Puzur-Ištar, the father of Šumi-abiya, were found in the debris, no. 81, dated to the same year as the others (restore line 5' as [*limum*] Bu-[zu-ta-a]), was found on the floor.

in the text written on the envelope, are separated from their seal impressions. This makes it also impossible to identify impressions of seals preserved on the many broken envelopes included in TPAK. And because many seal impressions, especially those belonging to witnesses, turn up in other archives too, their omission creates a more general problem for archival studies. In this way the potential of excavated archives cannot be exploited and we hope that this will be different in future volumes.

### 1.3.3. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Several archives have been assigned for publication by the director of the excavations to a number of scholars and should be published in the coming years. Balkan published and used mainly texts excavated between 1948 and 1960. Stimulated by the retired E. Bilgiç, assyriologists of Ankara University, such I. Albayrak, S. Bayram, S. Çeçen, C. Günbattı and H. Sever, apart from what they published in AKT 1-3, have worked on selected texts from many different archives.<sup>300</sup> I. Albayrak has completed a publication of ca. seventy texts from the kt o/k archive. V. Donbaz, in Istanbul, published many texts, especially those belonging to *kārum* level Ib. The members of the "Tablet section" of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, A. Uzunalımoğlu (now A. Karaduman), S. Gül, and I. Esen, published small groups of texts, mostly from the early years of the excavation,<sup>301</sup> while A. Karaduman prepares an edition of the kt h/k texts, on which she wrote her dissertation. The texts of Peruwa's archive, excavated in 1954, were copied and studied by L. Umut, but she seems to have left the field. Turkish assyriologists in general have preferred to publish selected texts and small groups<sup>302</sup> which belong to the same archive<sup>303</sup> or period,<sup>304</sup> are similar,<sup>305</sup> document a particular legal feature<sup>306</sup> or commercial practice,<sup>307</sup> or present a special interest in dealing with

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<sup>300</sup> Bayram, Çeçen and Günbattı have deciphered hundreds of texts from the large kt n/k archive, Albayrak works on the kt o/k group and soon will publish part of this archive; see further the information presented in Michel 2003c, 60ff.

<sup>301</sup> A. Karaduman-Uzunalımoğlu published texts from the kt c/k group in *AMMY* 1990-1992, as did S. Gül and I. Esen (both in *AMMY* 1990). Karaduman is preparing her dissertation on texts from the kt h/k archive for publication, and I. Esen also worked on texts from the kt e/k group (Esen 1994, 2000 and 2001).

<sup>302</sup> Examples are found in Michel 2003c, 154ff., under the names of Albayrak, Balkan (1986), Bayram, Bilgiç (1964 and 1990), Çeçen, Donbaz, Esen, Gül, Günbattı, Sever, and Uzunalımoğlu.

<sup>303</sup> Donbaz 1998a edits and analyses eight texts which are the (remains of the?) archive of the Anatolian trader Aše'ed.

<sup>304</sup> A particular file, Donbaz 1988a (on the trader Aše'ed); texts from the city mound, Bilgiç 1964, Donbaz 1998c; texts from *kārum* level Ib, Donbaz 1989a, 1990a, 1993a, 2001b, and 2004b, cf. Özgüç 2004.

<sup>305</sup> *waklum* letters, Çeçen 1990a, Sever 1990a; *kārum* letters, Albayrak 2003, Günbattı 1995, 1998c, Çeçen 1997a.

<sup>306</sup> House sales, Günbattı 1989, Bayram-Veenhof 1992; slave sales, Bayram-Çeçen 1996, Sever 1998a; marriage, Sever 1992a and 1992b, Bayram-Çeçen 1995, also Michel-Garelli 1996b, and Veenhof 1998b; last wills, Albayrak 2000 and 2004, also Wilcke 1976; water ordeal, Günbattı 2001; *idinum*, Çeçen 1997c. In this

politics,<sup>308</sup> social phenomena,<sup>309</sup> the Anatolian scene,<sup>310</sup> or from a lexical point of view.<sup>311</sup> Particularly welcome were Günbatti's publications of the "Tale of Sargon" and the treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum (Günbatti 1998a and 2004).

Several European scholars have been invited to take part in the publication program. K. Hecker works on the texts excavated in 1959 (kt k/k, 212 tablets), 1961 (kt m/k, 183 tablets),<sup>312</sup> and 1987 (kt. 87/k, ca. 542 tablets). M.T. Larsen studies the largest archive of kt 94/k, with ca. 1300 tablets, in which Šalim-Aššur and his brother Iddin-abum, sons of Issrik, are the main figures. C. Michel, after publishing TPAK and having read many texts excavated in 1975, is now working on the large archive kt 93/k (ca. 880 texts), which belongs to Aššur-taklāku, son of Alāhum, and his family. K.R. Veenhof, having studied the mixed group (ca. 120 texts) excavated in 1986, is now preparing for publication the archives of Elamma, ca. 350 texts, excavated in 1991 and the beginning of 1992 (kt 91/k 295-563 and kt 92/k 94-187),<sup>313</sup> and the small and late archive of Kuliya, son of Alābum, found early in 1992 (kt 92/k 188-263), the manuscript of which is in the press.<sup>314</sup> This archive also contained the eponym list KEL A (kt 92/k 193), published separately in Veenhof 2003. Their occupation with these archives also resulted in articles in which selected, important texts were published and studied<sup>315</sup>

#### 1.4. THEMATIC TEXT EDITIONS

Even without systematic archival studies, it had soon become clear that Old Assyrian overland trade could only flourish thanks to a good communication system based on written texts. Moreover, the highly developed trade, in which large amounts of valuable goods and money circulated and credit and accounts played an important role, required not only oral witnesses, but also a variety of legal documents to record contracts, debts, quittances, and settlements with evidentiary force and therefore kept in envelopes sealed

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connection I also mention the articles Gökçek 2003 and 2004, one jars and pots, and on animal husbandry and trade.

<sup>307</sup> Bayram 1998b (smuggling), Çeçen 1997a (trade in *amūtum*), Günbatti 2002 (*awītum* and *dātum*).

<sup>308</sup> Such as the two treaties, published in Günbatti 2004, also Bilgic 1998, Günbatti 1995 and 1997 (political relations), Çeçen 1998b (blood money), Donbaz 2001a (*patrum ša Aššur*, oaths).

<sup>309</sup> Sever-Çeçen 1993, Çeçen 1995 (*mutānū*, epidemics)

<sup>310</sup> Bayram 1990 (festivals as due dates in Anatolian debt-notes).

<sup>311</sup> Albayrak 2001 (*mā'ū*), Balkan 1965b (*išurtum*), 1967 (commercial idiom), 1969 (wagons and ploughs), 1986 (*ushi'um*), Bayram 2001 (*nadium ša naru'īm*), Dercksen-Donbaz 2000 (*habbātum*), Donbaz 1989 (terms for bread), 2001a (*patrum*), 2004 ("texts with rare terminology", which contains six texts excavated in 2000).

<sup>312</sup> See Hecker 2004a and 2004b.

<sup>313</sup> According to the excavator kt 92/k 94-187 "document the presence of a new Assyrian merchant", probably Enna-Suen, to whom a number letters are addressed, but in this group there also a few addressed to Elamma, which complicates the picture.

<sup>314</sup> See for this archive and the chronological distribution of the texts, also Kryszat 2004a, 15-18.

<sup>315</sup> See Garelli-Michel 1994 and 1995, Hecker 2004a and 2004b, Michel 1997c and 2000b, Michel-Garelli 1996a and 1996b, and Veenhof 1998b, 2003b, 2006a-b, and 2007a.

by parties and witnesses. Study and edition of typologically similar texts from different archives therefore was logical and rewarding. *EL*, with 340 classified records, was a first result of that approach, based on a distinction according to formal, usually legal criteria,<sup>316</sup> which provided much insight into the legal procedures. A partial sequel was Rosen 1977, who edited and analyzed ca. 100 debt-notes published after the appearance of *EL*. A different concept is that of the large volume Ulshöfer 1995 (see above I.3.2.1.4), which contains transliterations and translations of more than six hundred so-called "private records" - notes, lists, memorandums, drafts, copies, accounts, etc. - divided into thirteen different groups. It has an introduction and the last part (p. 464-83) deals with a number of related records, but the volume is basically a classified text edition, with little commentary. While very helpful as a collection and careful edition of all such records, the originals of many of which were collated, their purely formal classification, without establishing links with particular traders or archives, makes them less easy to use, also because indexes of personal names and subjects are missing.<sup>317</sup>

Three other volumes to be mentioned here have in common that they use a specific and relatively limited text corpus as a basis for a thematic investigation, to reconstruct and explain particular features or procedures. The first, which has the focus of the legal historian, is Kienast 1984, on the *Kaufvertragsrecht*, where an edition of 40 deeds of sale of houses and slaves<sup>318</sup> serves as the basis for analyzing the law of sale, its substance, form and terminology, but with less interest for their social and economic background. The second is Larsen 1967, *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures*, which edits in all 50 texts, which are divided into three categories, called "transport contracts", notifying messages", and "caravan accounts", and are used as a basis for a very illuminating reconstruction of the caravan system. Finally there is Nashef 1987, *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten*, who mainly uses a group of records that list expenses during the various stages of the caravan trip for reconstructing the itineraries of the traders and their caravans (see below II.2.2).

Of a different nature are two contributions by C. Michel. The first, *Correspondance des marchands de Kanesh (CMK)*, presents a broad selection of 400 letters in an annotated

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<sup>316</sup> The contracts whereby goods were entrusted to caravaneers for transport to Anatolia in *EL* were classified as "Verwahrung" ("deposit", nos. 110-137) and distinguished from "Transportverträge" (nos. 138-144). Both use the key verb *paqādum*, "to entrust", but while the first group add no further specifications (although the purpose is obvious), the second adds verbs like *wabālum*, "to bring", or *radā'um*, "to lead" (a verb which implies transport by donkey, a transporter could be called a *rādi luqūtim*), and "to the city, for purchases" (nos. 139-140).

<sup>317</sup> The classification is not without problems (see my review in *JESHO* 40 [1997] 301ff.), also because such private records have a less fixed structure and wording than legal records. Moreover, within each category the texts are presented in an order based on the alphabetically arranged titles of their first publication and not by grouping them together on the basis of structural identity.

<sup>318</sup> See also Hecker 1980b and 1998a, on a specific feature in slave sales. Kienast 1984 contains almost no records on the sale of merchandise, since this was done cash or on credit, which only resulted in numerous debt-notes or quittances. In some excurses the volume presents a few dozen texts (complete or in part) that deal with the sale of houses and with slaves and slave-girls. The number of records is now much bigger, see the survey, with references, in Veenhof 2003c, 461 with note 147f.

French translation, divided into seven categories,<sup>319</sup> with good introductions and indexes, which offers an excellent overview of the variety and informative value of letters. It is a kind of companion to *EL*, with contains only legal records. The second, Michel 2000a, is an annotated translation of twenty-four selected judicial records ("litiges commerciaux"), which gives a sample of this type of records as illustration of the judicial procedures. It is a kind of supplement to *EL*, especially its part IV (nos. 311-340), which deals with "sachliche zusammenhängende Urkunden" and is accompanied by a very detailed commentary. It is supplemented by Veenhof 1991, which classifies and describes the various types of records dealing with private summons and judicial arbitration. Instead of the systematic "juristische Erläuterungen", promised and even referred to in *EL*, but never published, one may now consult the survey of all aspects and "provinces" of Old Assyrian law in Veenhof 2003d, which also provides many bibliographical data. Finally I mention two contributions by Dercksen. The first, Dercksen 2001a, offers a systematic analysis and interpretation of the remains of archives found at Amkuwa and Hattuša, with translations and transliterations of many texts; the second, Dercksen 2004a, deals with aspects of the Anatolian society, with the relevant sources in transliteration and translation in an Appendix. His comprehensive study of the copper trade (Dercksen 1996) in a similar way included the edition of a sample of twenty texts.

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<sup>319</sup> Letters of Assyrian and Anatolian authorities, letters on caravans, on fraud and smuggling, on commercial societies, of family firms, and of women.

## 2. THEMATIC STUDIES

More numerous are thematic investigations, listed in Michel 2003, ch.4.3, "Historical and philological studies", of which what follows presents an overview, arranged by subject and focusing on the more important items, to show the lines of research and to document progress and problems.

### 2.1. INSTITUTIONS

After Garelli 1963 and Orlin 1970, AOATT dealt with a number of institutional features of *kārum* Kanesh, such as collective trading operations organized by the "Office of the Colony" (*bēt kārim*), its system of taxation and the contributions paid to the *kārum* by important traders called "*dātu*-payers", and the existence and role of the market.<sup>320</sup> The most important study of the institutions was Larsen 1976, *The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies*, which, after a long historical introduction, offers a comprehensive analysis and interpretation. He treats the political structure of Assur, its king, city assembly and year eponymy (part two), and the government of the colonies, its system and administration (based on a thorough analysis of the so-called "Statute Texts"), the *limums* of the *kārum*, and the week-eponymy (*hamušum*; part three).<sup>321</sup> On the basis of more textual sources Dercksen 2004a, *Old Assyrian Institutions*, presents a new, more detailed investigation of a number of institutional features of Assur and *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>322</sup> His first part focuses on the City Hall (*bēt ālim*), its possible location, commercial role, debt policy, officials (*nibum*, *laputtā'um*, *mūšium*, *bīrum* and the secretary) and its function in the city-state. This part also deals with the question, already raised in Larsen 1976 (part. 2) of the influence and representation of the Anatolian traders in the City, recently also discussed by Veenhof 2003d, who also analyzed the evidence (in the form of legal decisions) for a "trade policy" on the part of *kārum* Kanesh and the City of Assur. The second part of Dercksen's book (99-244) deals with the "Office of the Colony" (*bēt kārim*). Supplementing and correcting AOATT and elaborating on the observations in Dercksen 1996, ch. 5.3-6, he deals with its finances, taxation (especially the *šaddu'utu*-tax), and the important feature of the so-called "*dātu*-contributions" to and deposits (*šitapkum*) with the *kārum*, which entails the analysis of the meaning of various technical terms and sophisticated procedures. Special attention is paid to the system of the "declared value" of the goods shipped and traded (*awitum*), which proves to be important for fiscal reasons and for apportioning costs and expenses of a caravan among its participants.<sup>323</sup> He also investigates the structure of the caravans and especially the important concept of the *ellutum*, a caravan based on a form of partnership, "most of which seem to have existed on an ad hoc basis and functioned for only a single journey."<sup>324</sup> It played an important role in the "communal trade", which is reflected in the periodic settlement of accounts (*nikkassū*) in *kārum* Kanesh. Dercksen describes it as "a form of partnership that could be used for the joint

<sup>320</sup> In chapters 7, 10-13, and 17.

<sup>321</sup> Studied primarily as a dating device in Balkan 1965a.

<sup>322</sup> Larsen's interpretation of the role of the ruler is now generally accepted. See for what is known about individual rulers Veenhof 2003, ch. 6, for legislation in Assur Veenhof 1995a, and for a special measure taken by the City to help indebted traders who had to sell their family houses, Veenhof 1999b.

<sup>323</sup> See Günbattı 2002 for some new texts on *awitum* and *dātum*.

<sup>324</sup> Where he corrects and goes beyond Michel 1992b.

shipment of merchandise and for specific trading opportunities",<sup>325</sup> and as such they appear in the context of the office of the colony. "The accounting of the import caravans took place in that office" and concerned the claims "that arose from the purchase of textiles by the palace". By organizing "communal fund raising" (*šitapkum*) the colony supplied caravans which carried out special trading ventures in wool with the necessary capital.

Dercksen did not discuss the "week-eponyms" (*hamuštum*), which had been studied by Larsen 1976, 354-365, who could use data supplied by Balkan 1965a. Veenhof 1996a was able to show that a *hamuštum* as a dating device equaled one week of seven days, and Kryszat 2004a, ch. 4, who presents an alphabetical list of all week-eponyms, discovered that the older system of (mentioning) double week eponyms in the dating formula, during the eponymy years 97-98 changed into one of single eponyms, but its implications are not clear. He assumes that its name, "one-fifth", wants to identify the *hamuštum* as two members of a ten-men college (*ešartum*), but for lack of informative texts this remains unclear, as are the tasks of these rotating officials, though they may have been involved in the financial administration of the *kārum*.

As the list in Kryszat 2004a, 164ff. shows, nearly all the hundreds of persons attested as *hamuštum* are Assyrians, but there are some whose names are not and Balkan 1965a, 169 listed seven of them. Larsen 1976, 358, convincingly explained this feature by pointing out that people with linguistically different names could be "of good Assyrian descent",<sup>326</sup> and by assuming that those who were not "belonged to the group of local people who had established close ties with the Assyrian community". Since the *hamuštum* eponymy was a "colonial" institution we should indeed be much less concerned about ethnicity or even Assyrian citizenship, than about being a member of the Assyrian trading community in Kanesh. New data confirm his interpretation, for Tuhniš (with an Anatolian name) now appears in KKS 7b:4f. as son of Ili-dan and an unpublished letter speaks of "Tuhniš, my in-law",<sup>327</sup> which indicates acceptance in the Assyrian community by intermarriage. This may apply to other *hamuštums* with non-Assyrian names too, such as Abluhul (kt 99/k 13:7ff.),<sup>328</sup> Zup(a)palali (kt 87/k 260:8), or Awarnahuš (also written A'urnahuš; kt 86/k 223:5), the last one the father of two sons with the good Assyrian names, Šū-Suen and Iddin-Suen (kt a/k 906:36).

What exactly the just mentioned "ten-men boards" (*ešartum*) were, attested for the towns of Buruddum, Hahhum, Kuššara, Nehria, and Šimala,<sup>329</sup> is not clear, in particular not since all five towns also had a *kārum* or *wabartum* (see below IV.2.1, nos. 4, 8, 15, 18, and 23). That of Hahhum (see CMK 97-99), together with Elāli and 'Iddin-Kūbum and his caravan", negotiates with the local ruler about the contents of the oath (a commercial treaty) on the basis of letters written by *kārum* Kanesh, and it could have been special committee (consisting of members of the local *kārum*?) designated for this purpose. That of Buruddum has a conflict with that of Šimala (CMK 60) and asks the trader Pūšu-kēn to intervene with *kārum* Kanesh on its behalf. That of Kuššara receives a letter from *kārum* Kanesh, which reproaches it for a deal with the local ruler on the

<sup>325</sup> In particular for the wool trade, as already pointed out in AOATT 134f. and now elaborated in Dercksen 2004a, ch. 10.

<sup>326</sup> Patronymics show that of those listed by Balkan anyhow Agua, Aguza and Banaga are of Assyrian descent.

<sup>327</sup> Kt 87/k 37:9ff., silver given *ana Tuhniš ša bēt ēmia* (tablet read during a visit to Kültepe in 1987).

<sup>328</sup> Coupled with Wašiburum-bāni a man whose father was Šū-Dagan.

<sup>329</sup> Burudum and Šimala: CCT 3, 36a:1-4 (CMK 60); Hahhum: CCT 4, 30a:4 with CCT 6, 15b:8f (CMK 98-99); Kuššara: kt 93/k 67:2 (courtesy Michel); Nehria: AnOr 6, 15:2 (CMK 61).

credit sale of textiles, which violates the interests of other traders. The ten-men board of Nehria receives a letter from the Pūšu-kēn, in which he reports on the sale of and proceeds from a donkey load of textiles, apparently belonging to this group of ten (line 28, "the rest of your silver"). Larsen<sup>330</sup> considers them "commercial units", composed of traders who had their base in the town mentioned, "on the dividing line between public and private", who were active in the trade – which is confirmed by the new references – but locally also performed administrative tasks within the colonial system. Their role in Hahhum suggests that they may have acted as the "standing committee" of the local Assyrian commercial settlement, but the evidence is too limited.<sup>331</sup>

Equally difficult is the role of the already mentioned "*dātu*-payers" and "the travelers on the road to the City" (*ālikū ša harrān ālim*), who appear in a judicial capacity in official letters and depositions not only during level Ib, but also during level II.<sup>332</sup> Both were important men, the former the financial backbone of the colonial society (see above), but who the "travelers" were is less clear. Larsen's idea (1976, 276) that they might be the successors of the "Envoys of the City" of level II, is refuted by the level Ib text kt 98/k 125:12,<sup>333</sup> where both still occur together. Their designation "travelers" probably identifies them as the members (or leaders) of the caravans, that is the entrepreneurs who maintained the commercial contacts with Assur. In kt 87/k 552:26-29 (courtesy Hecker) they occur together with the "*dātu*-payers and the residents (*wašbūtum*) of Tuhpia" as a court-of-law that summons witnesses and in Prag I 478:1-3 we meet the "secretary (scribe)" of this same body, who assigns a guarantor to a plaintiff. The occurrence of "the residents of Tuhpia" is remarkable, because the town during the level II period harboured an Assyrian settlement with the status of a *wabartum* and (subsequently?) a *kārum* (see IV.2.1-2 no.30). To explain the composition and activities of these bodies I assume that when the Assyrian presence in some towns in Anatolia, in particular situations or times, had become weak (as to numbers en status), "*dātu*-payers" and "the travelers on the road to the City" were asked to assist the local traders in the settlements they visited with the administration of justice by functioning as an (ad hoc) judicial body or court-of-law.<sup>334</sup> In a similar way the "*dātu*-payers" also figure together with the *beruttum* of Šaladuwar as recipients of five letters written by *kārum* Waḥšušana, which to all appearances date to the level II period and deal with the local collection of the *šadduʾutu*-tax.<sup>335</sup> While this town during the level Ib period had an Assyrian *wabartum* (see below, IV.2.1-2 no.20), no *kārum* or *wabartum* is attested during level

<sup>330</sup> Larsen 1976, 269ff., see also Orlin 1972, 68, note 124, and Kryszat 2004a, 161.

<sup>331</sup> There are, as far as I am aware, no new attestations after those mentioned in note 326.

<sup>332</sup> Garelli-Homès-Fredericq 1987, 113, questioned the level Ib date of Prag I 478 on prosopographical grounds and because of it links with Prag I 445 and ICK 1,2.

<sup>333</sup> Donbaz 2001b, 106. Note also kt 94/k 802, a level II letter addressed to the Envoys of the City and the *ālikū*.

<sup>334</sup> Kt n/k 5 (together with *wabartum* Mamma), kt n/k 32 (together with *kārum* Waḥšana), Prag I 478 (with "the residents of Tuhpia", taking a juridical decision in a case of surety). In KBo 28, 181, according to Derksen 2001a, 60, note 118, they would figure as addressees in conjunction with *kārum* [Hattuš] of a letter sent by *kārum* [Kanesh]. See also Balkan 1965b, 155a, on an unpublished letter addressed by the *dātu*-payers and *kārum* Timilkia to *kārum* Šamuha.

<sup>335</sup> The letters were recently discussed in Müller-Marzahn 2000, in their comments on no. 1.



II and it therefore seems likely that the *beruttum* and *dātu*-payers formed a gremium that served the local Assyrian commercial interests, supervised by the neighbouring *kārum* Wahšušana. In three level Ib texts the "travelers on the road to the City" in a comparable way function in a judiciary capacity together with a *wabartum*, twice with that of Šuppilulīa, once with that of Amkuwa. In all cases they summon persons to render testimony in a lawsuit.<sup>336</sup> These references provide important evidence for forms of local Assyrian representation for discharging judiciary and commercial tasks, especially in smaller towns, but we need more evidence to understand their composition (who were the *beruttum*?) and tasks and to map the differences between the periods of levels II and Ib.

## 2.2. Caravans and trade routes

Larsen 1976 and Dercksen 2004a contain valuable observations on the overland trade (notably Dercksen's analysis of *ellutum*), but there are also publications with deal more specifically with it. The caravan system as such, together with the issues of prices, taxation and sale, had been convincingly reconstructed in Larsen 1967, supplemented for some aspects by AOATT, whose ch. 1-3 dealt with the packing of the merchandise and the equipment and loads of the donkeys. In ch. 14-16 he treated "smuggling" (*pazzurum*, *pazzurtum*) and the use of the so-called "*sukinnu*-route", items now also dealt with in CMK ch. 4,1, with translations of the relevant letters.<sup>337</sup> Caravan trade in general was discussed in Larsen 1982b, while the issues of transporters and donkeys were again taken up by Michel 1992b (notably the concept of *šēpum*) and in Appendix 3 of Dercksen 2004a, which is devoted to "the pack-donkey". Prices and their background were analyzed in Veenhof 1988, and building on his observations in AOATT ch. 19, he again dealt with the related issue of the market (the existence of a special locale and 'market features', such as prices conditioned by supply, demand and costs of transport), in Veenhof 2003d, 5, on which also Dercksen 2004a, 31ff. made observations.

In this connection also the itineraries followed by the caravans were studied, resulting, after several more detailed contributions by Julius Lewy, in "Les voies de communication", ch. 2 of part 1 of Garelli 1963. Some aspects were also discussed in AOATT, 237-244, in connection with specified lists of travel expenses and the "road tax" (*dātum*), paid in Northern Mesopotamia. His approach tried to establish the approximate location of road-stations on the basis of the tariff used to fix the amount of tin paid by caravans for travel expenses between them. It was applied and further developed in Nashef's attempt to reconstruct the itineraries (Nashef 1987). Thanks to more textual evidence, presented in the Old Assyrian volume of the *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes* (Nashef 1991) and the identification of a few road

<sup>336</sup> Read in OIP 27, 18:26ff. probably *a-li-[ku ú w]a-b[a-ar-tum] / ša Am<sup>1</sup>-ku-wa*. See for kt 78/k 125:10ff., Donbaz 2001b.

<sup>337</sup> Including the informative new letter CCT 6, 22a = CMK 17. A dozen additional references from texts excavated since 1948 in Bayram 1998b and see also kt 83/k 284 (Günbatı 1995) on the issue whether traders arriving via the "*sukinnu*-route" have to pay the taxes due to the *kārum*, a question answered positively in the letter of *kārum* Kanesh addressed to several other *kāruns*, kt 92/k 203 (no. 2 in Veenhof 2007b): "Whoever has brought in loaded donkeys via the *sukinnu*-route .... even when he is a resident of *kārum* Kanesh, make him pay 3 shekels of silver per mina" (the normal rate of *šaddu* 'utu-tax').

stations (Qaṭṭarā = Tell Rimah, Apūm = Tell Leilān), our knowledge has increased. But both for Northern Mesopotamia (though data from Mari are helpful) and for Anatolia many problems and uncertainties remain. For Northern Mesopotamia one may now consult Forlanini 2004 and especially 2006, where he brings evidence for two different routes for caravans after they have reached Qaṭṭarā. A longer and more northern one would have followed the upper course of the Tigris, by way of Mardaman, to turn west in the area of the confluence of the eastern branch of the Khabur with the Tigris, near Haburātum. From there it would reach the crossing of the Euphrates in the general area of Samsat (where we must locate Hahhum), via Eluhhut (in the area of Mardin) and Burundum, which Forlanini calls "the Kašari route". The shorter, more direct road would have passed north of the Ġebel Sinjār, to head in northwestern direction towards the area of Samsat via Apūm, Nahur and Luhā. An alternative for the last part of this road was to use a more (south)western crossing of the Euphrates and to travel on via Uršu and Mamma (in the area between Maraš and Göksun?), a route suggested in the letter TC 1, 18 (Larsen 2002 no. 18), if one wished to avoid Hahhum. But in this reconstruction too the location of many towns visited by the Assyrian caravans en route in Northern Mesopotamia (Abrum, Atmum, Ašihum, Nehria, Talhat, etc.) still remains hypothetical or unclear. Many questions also exist concerning the itineraries in Anatolia, because so few ancient cities and towns with Assyrian commercial settlements have been identified (even the identification of Acemhöyük is disputed). Thanks to additional references in new OA texts (which require a new edition of Nashef 1991), archaeological surveys, the use of new Hittite data from the texts of Mašat-Höyük (Tapigga) and the "Bronze Tablet", some progress has been booked.<sup>338</sup> But the location of important cities like Buruṣhaddum, Durhumit, Kuššara, Ulama and Wahšušana is still disputed. The nature of the "*sukinnu*-route" also needs clarifications, especially the question whether this term (Michel translates by "chemin détourné") was a typological or a topographical designation still needs more clarification; the fact that one could import (*šērubum*) merchandise "from Hahhum to Buruṣhaddum via the *sukinnu*-route" (kt m/k 75:3ff.; cf. kt 93/k 488:31ff., "PN has just entered Buruṣhaddun via the *sukinnu*-route") shows its wide range and makes the proposal of H. Lewy 1963, that it was a special road connecting Timilkia with Durhumit, less likely. The fact that, as mentioned in note 337, traders using it hoped to avoid paying taxes owed to *kārum* Kanesh, suggests that it may have connected Hahhum and Timilkia with the areas to the north and north-west without passing Kanesh, which could indicate the use of a more eastern route (via Kuššara and Tegarama?). It is to be hoped that the publication of the dissertation on the historical geography of this region in the Old Assyrian period, defended by G. Barjamovic in Copenhagen, in March 2006, will bring more clarity in these and other geographical questions, though it will be difficult to solve our problems without strategic excavations and a few unambiguous identifications of ancient towns. His dissertation for me is a reason to refrain from proposing provisional and hypothetical interpretations and locations, though a number of essential data and issues cannot be ignored, as will be

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<sup>338</sup> Bayram 1998a (geographical names), Beitzel 1992 (caravan roads), Dercksen 1996, ch. 4 (geography of the copper trade), 2001a (on Hattuš and Amkuwa), Forlanini 1985, 2001, 2004, and 2006 (general, with the use of Hittite data, North Mesopotamian and Anatolian areas, analysis of particular texts), Garelli 1989 (Buruṣhaddum), 1998b (Hahhum), Hecker 1998a (Euphrates), Kawasaki 1996b (Šalahšuwa), Michel 1991a (Durhumit), Miller 2001 (on Zalpa, Haššum and Mamma), and Veenhof 2006b (Tappagaš/Tapigga).

clear from ch. IV.<sup>339</sup> A recent map, which reflects most of the current views, prepared by Cécile Michel and Martin Sauvage, can be found as frontispiece of Larsen 2002 (OAA 1).

Evidence from Mari shows that Assyrian caravans during the first half of the 18th century BC still travelled through Northern Mesopotamia on their way to Anatolia,<sup>340</sup> and their passage continued to be secured by treaties, as the one with the city of Hahhum (on or near the right bank of the Euphrates, probably at or near the site of Samsat) and that between Assur and the ruler of Apūm (Tell Leilan)<sup>341</sup> show. From Mari we also have evidence for an attempt to assure commercial cooperation between a prominent trader, active in Assur and Kanesh, and the "overseer of the traders" in Mari.<sup>342</sup> Later in the 18th century there were also problems of security and passage, due to the threat posed by *habbātu* (employed as mercenaries in these times) of a kind not known from texts from *kārum* Kanesh level II, as told in the emotional letter (Dercksen-Donbaz 2000), addressed to "the gods and the City".

### 2.3. Goods traded

The goods traded, their identification, provenience, prices, sale, and taxation were systematically treated in Garelli 1963, part 3 ch. 2.

#### 2.3.1. Tin

As regards tin, after Garelli 1963 its occasionally still disputed identification with AN.NA = *annukum*<sup>343</sup> became an accepted fact. Larsen 1967 and AOAT ch. 1-3 dealt with the packing and shipment of tin to Anatolia, its taxation and sale, while Veenhof 1988 investigated its prices on purchase in Assur and on sale in Anatolia, and their background, also in relation to the data from Mari.<sup>344</sup> The assumption that it was produced and shipped as ingots, which had the shape of slabs or plaques, suggested by data from Mari, is now confirmed by new texts such as AKT 3, 49:24, which mentions a slab (*le-a-am*) of a little over 9 pounds.<sup>345</sup> ARMT 23, 555, reveals that tin arrived in this shape from Susa and mentions 3 slabs weighing 32 1/4 minas, or ca. 10 3/4 pounds apiece, which together have almost exactly the same weight as the standard OA packet of ca. 32 1/2 pounds, two of which made a "standard weight" (*šūqlum*) of 65 pounds, which was transported in one half-pack (*muttatum*) of a donkey. This agrees

<sup>339</sup> See also the attempt in Veenhof 2005b, in the comments on some new records with interesting geographical data.

<sup>340</sup> Note the letter A 285:6ff., edited in Charpin-Durand 1997, 385f., where it is mentioned that the king of Karanā allowed a large caravan (its size must have been mentioned in the missing beginning of the letter) to pass through his country, 50 donkeys of which traveled on to Kanesh. The letter ARMT 26 432 mentions a caravan of three hundred Assyrians who traveled from Assur to Karanā.

<sup>341</sup> See Günbattı 2004 (and below V.2.2) and Eidem 1991 (and below V.1, B).

<sup>342</sup> Durand 2001.

<sup>343</sup> See for the problem already Landsberger 1965 and Muhly 1973, ch. 5.

<sup>344</sup> See Joannès 1991.

<sup>345</sup> Kt 94/k 1352:3f. mentions a load of 2 slabs and 2 bundles (*riksum*), together weighing 35 pounds.

with 94/k 1679, which lists 5 slabs that together weigh 1 talent and one of 3 5/6 pounds, in all nearly exactly the quantity contained in one *šuglum*.

As for the origin of the tin, an earlier suggestion by J. Laessøe, based on a letter found at Shemshare, that tin reached Assur via Southern Kurdistan, possibly from mines in the higher ranges of the Zagros Mountains, east of Tabriz (cf. Larsen 1967, 4), has been refuted in Eidem-Laessøe 2001, 29. It is very likely that the tin originated from northeastern Afghanistan or Uzbekistan, where cassiterite was found, and reached Assur (together with the lapis-lazuli traded by the Assyrians) via Susa (cf. Dercksen 2005, 19). We now have references (AKT 3, 73 and 74) which show that it arrived with caravans "of the Lower Country" (*ša māt šapiltim*), probably the name for the area south of Eshnunna and reaching into the plain of Dēr (Badreh).<sup>346</sup> But the mechanics of these imports and their sale in Assur (usually at prices of 14 to 15 shekels of tin for 1 shekel of silver, with occasional fluctuations of up to 10 percent), in which the City Hall seems to have played a role alongside the warehouses of individual firms, are still not clear; see most recently Dercksen 2004a, 17f.

### 2.3.2. Textiles

The trade in textiles was analyzed by *AOATT*, part 2, which dealt with provenance, types, shapes, materials, qualities, sizes and prices of the various textile products. He also discussed the right of the local Anatolian rulers to take five percent of them as *nishatu*-tax and their right to pre-empt another ten percent (called "tithe", *īsrātum*, or "those bought", *ša šimim*) and the resulting calculations and balancing payments, because for both purposes only complete and half textiles were handed over. Recently, Dercksen 2004a, 173ff. has shown that the *kārum*-office was involved in the pre-emption, because the local palace could pay for the textiles bought through the colonial office. He also pointed out that the number of textiles pre-empted could vary from the norm of ten percent, because the office of the colony in some cases "assessed the situation, apparently involving a calculation of the percentage of textiles required to result in the quantity the Assyrian merchants were bound by treaty to deliver to the palace. The office then charged this percentage to the merchants involved. This procedure points to a close cooperation between the palace and the Assyrian institution". Unfortunately, we do not have the text of a treaty of the level II period to give more insight into this device and in those from the younger level Ib period the system is apparently different, though pre-emption still occurs (see below V.3.4.1). Veenhof 1988, 250ff. dealt with the purchase and sale prices of the textiles and the profit that could be realized on them in comparison with that earned on the tin and the investments required (taxes, transport, etc.).

The quantitative relation between the expensive "Akkadian textiles", imported from the south, and the institutional or domestic textile production in Assur, also raised by Dercksen 2004a, 14-17, is still not clear, but the importance of the textile trade for Assur is underlined by evidence for clearly protectionist measures of the City Assembly, contained in the letters VS 26, 9 and AKT 3, 73:9ff., studied in Veenhof 2003d, 89ff. The first forbids trade in specific types of Anatolian textiles and the second probably obliges traders to buy more textiles, by limiting the quantity of tin that could be bought with the silver arriving from Assur. Data from Mari offer clues about how Assur acquired the wool necessary for its production not only from (presumed) local herds, but also from the Sukhu nomads, whose herds grazed along the Middle Euphrates and in the area of the Wadi Tarthar.<sup>347</sup> The evidence for Assyrian trade in local Anatolian textiles, in particular in

<sup>346</sup> See Dercksen 2004a, 28ff.

<sup>347</sup> See Charpin-Durand 1997, 377 and 387 no. 4.

those called *pa/ira/ikannum* (see AOATT 124) has increased and their quantities make the verdict of the City, quoted there, even more understandable.<sup>348</sup> It is interesting to read in the recently published treaty from the younger level Ib period concluded between the Assyrians and the ruler of Kanesh,<sup>349</sup> that the latter is entitled to levy as tax (*nishatum*) ten percent of the *parakannu*-textiles traded, which implies that Assyrian trade in these products was an accepted fact. The tariff of this tax is more than the five percent on imported textiles levied during level II and shows their increased importance in the internal Anatolian trade, in which the Assyrians still played an important role.

### 2.3.3. *Lapis lazuli*

Lapis lazuli, called *husārum* in Old Assyrian, recently studied by Michel and Dercksen,<sup>350</sup> was obtained in Assur from the "City Hall", where it must have arrived with the same caravans that brought the tin to Assur. The evidence for a supply monopoly of the City Hall, already suggested by Larsen 1976, 198ff., has now become clear. VS 26, 12:7ff. reveals that the *kārum* office in Kanesh levied a tithe (*išrātum*) on lapis lazuli, which would ultimately accrue to the City Hall in Assur. Its price in Assur was roughly half that of silver, but in Anatolia, where it must have been in demand with the elite (it is mentioned in the new treaty with Kanesh, see below V.3.4.2) it was two to three times more expensive than silver. It was traded in small pieces (kt 93/k 169 mentions 24 stones or beads with a total weight of less than one pound) and in lumps of a few pounds, the biggest one weighing twelve pounds.<sup>351</sup> The stone was used for making seals (see below § 2.10 with note 519), for decorating various objects (such as the heads of toggle-pins, see note 219), for making cups (TC 2, 22:16), and for inlays.<sup>352</sup>

### 2.3.4. *Iron*

Meteoritic iron (*amūtum* or *ašium*) was very expensive, up to sixty times the price of silver and even more, no doubt depending its quality and purity. Kt n/k 67:10ff. (Donbaz 2001a) distinguished between pure iron *ša ha-ar-ša* and iron *ša ki-ši-a*, and while we do not know what these terms mean, the figures on the tithe levied on both kinds of iron, to be paid in silver, indicate that the latter was about ca. ten to fifteen percent cheaper than the former. VS 26, 61 mentions that *kārum* Kanesh bought two pieces of iron at rates of respectively 95 and 40 shekels of silver for one shekel of iron.

<sup>348</sup> Note the mention of 209 *pirikannū* in kt 89/k 421:4, but also the expectation in CCT 6, 14:49f., "What profit do *pirikannū* yield that I should trade them? May the gods Assur and Šamaš trample (read in line 51, after collation *li-di-šu*) that profit to dung! 30 donkeys (loaded with them) are worth only thirty pounds of silver and how many donkey-drivers and how much harness are needed, and what kind of journeys do they have to make?" The value mentioned means a price of ca. 2 shekels of silver apiece or a little more. See for these textiles also note 908.

<sup>349</sup> Günbatlı 2004, 252, lines 69f.

<sup>350</sup> Michel 2001a, and Dercksen 2004a, 18-23; see for relevant letters also CMK 194-198.

<sup>351</sup> Kt 94/757 mentions a quantity of 16 5/6 pounds, qualified as temple property (*ikribū*) of Aššur.

<sup>352</sup> In the throne of Aššur, see RIMA 1, 20, lines 7f. An unpublished letter, quoted in Landsberger-Balkan 1950, 234, speaks of "extremely fine lapis lazuli which will fetch a good price over there for inlay" (*tamlūm*).

In view of its high value and perhaps the risks of its trade, we meet several cases where traders cooperate or make a partnership to handle it, as in kt m/k 93, where two traders shipped an amount of 45 shekels of *amūtum* from Šaladuwar, which fetched a price of more than one talent of copper for one shekel of iron. The best known case concerns a partnership of four men, with a capital of 20 minas of silver made available by an investor for buying iron in Hattum, which became the subject of a legal confrontation which generated several records (see Landsberger 1950a, 331-336).

Iron was much in demand in Anatolia, especially with the elite connected with the palaces. In Assur it was supplied by the City Hall, but it was also obtainable in Anatolia. It was summarily dealt with in Veenhof 2003d, 99-102, in connection with the question of a monopoly and contraband,<sup>353</sup> and Dercksen 2004a, 112ff. investigated the taxation by the *kārum* of the iron trade, documented in some very interesting new letters,<sup>354</sup> which indicate a change in the system of its taxation demanded by a decision of the City assembly of Assur and communicated to the various Assyrian commercial settlements in strongly worded letters delivered by messengers of the *kārum*. Copies of them were found in the archive of Kuliya and I refer to my comments on texts nos. 1-6 in the chapter "Kuliya as messenger of *kārum* Kanesh", of my forthcoming edition of his archive (Veenhof 2007b). The tithe on all iron traded henceforth ("from this day on") had to be "taken" by *kārum* Kanesh. This probably did not mean that Assur (written <sup>d</sup>Aššur, which could mean the god/temple or the city) relinquished its right to part of the proceeds or profit (*nēmulum*), but that this was no longer levied in Assur, but sent there after having been collected by *kārum* Kanesh, which made all Assyrian settlements responsible for levying it from any trader and caravan, whatever his status or itinerary.<sup>355</sup> The measure may perhaps be explained from the fact that there was now more trade in iron found and worked in Anatolia, which could be better monitored by *kārum* Kanesh than by the City, which was originally the main source of iron imported into Anatolia and therefore entitled to a share in its proceeds. The high price implied that the amounts of iron mentioned in the texts were modest, usually ranging from a few to about twenty shekels,<sup>356</sup> and its importance for the trade is documented by the fact that it also occurs in the new treaty with Kanesh, see below V.3.4.2.

### 2.3.5. Antimony, copper and bronze

The main goods not imported from Assur, but traded by Assyrians inside Anatolia, and therefore occurring mainly in transactions with Anatolian customers, were grain, wool, antimony and copper. Antimony (*lulāʾum*) occurs more often than the single reference in CAD L, 243 suggests, and at times in quantities of several talents, but the pattern of its trade (acquisition and sale) is not yet clear.<sup>357</sup> The idea that the export of copper to

<sup>353</sup> See for some important letters on its trade, Çeçen 1997a.

<sup>354</sup> Cecen 1997a and Donbaz 2001a (kt n/k 66 and 67).

<sup>355</sup> See in particular the letter kt 92/k 221:9ff. (Cecen 1997a, 227), "From this day onwards, whoever buys iron will not be concerned with the profit of (owed to) Assur, it is *kārum* Kanesh which will collect it".

<sup>356</sup> Kt 94/k 826:32ff. (courtesy Larsen) mentions rings of iron together weighing 18 3/4 shekels, which seem to have fetched 22 1/2 minas of silver. Kt 93/k 637 (courtesy Michel) registers 31 1/6 shekels of pure iron (*amūtum zakūtum*) sold to the palace, which yielded 46 3/4 minas of silver, which means a rate of exchange of 90:1.

<sup>357</sup> Kt h/k 38:8 (Sever 1998c) mentions the plan to import from Hattum ten talents of antimony into Luhusaddia in order to sell it there,

Assur was one of the goals of the OA trade, regularly found in the older literature, but not confirmed by the caravan texts, has proved to be wrong, though occasionally small amounts of copper were taken along to Assur.<sup>358</sup> The purely commercial reasons for not exporting it (price and cost of transport) were pointed out by Veenhof.<sup>359</sup> Anatolian copper and all aspects of the copper trade – sources, metallurgical treatments, qualities, quantities, weights used, transport (also by wagons), trading procedures, the role of the *kārum*s, settling of accounts, and attested objects of copper – received a thorough treatment in Dercksen 1996 (see also below IV.1, with notes 696ff.). But there is still discussion about the location of the mines and of Durhumit, which Dercksen 1996, 154 describes as "pivotal in the copper trade and its market was the link between the neighbouring copper producing areas and merchants wishing to procure the metal".<sup>360</sup> In trading copper the Assyrians, using their transport facilities and commercial network, exploited the differences in resources of the various Anatolian areas and practiced indirect exchange. They sold part of what they imported (tin and textiles) for copper where it was locally and presumably cheaply available, to ship it elsewhere to sell it for silver and gold, which was the main goals of their trade. While the main clients of the copper trade were the local palaces and rulers, we also meet many Anatolian individuals, some probably connected with the palace administration, others presumably native copper traders, called *pāširum*, or blacksmiths. A good example of the number and variety of the clients is provided by CCT 6, 34a, which, though damaged, still lists twenty-five Anatolians who owe an Assyrian in all 2370 minas of copper, with individual amounts ranging between 140 (once 240) and 10 minas. Most of them are just listed by name, but we also meet the queen, the *bēl mā[t]m* and the ruler of Nen[āššā] (lines 3-5), a priest of [...], and on the reverse another ruler, a chief of the threshing floor, and a lord of the town (*bēl ālim*, lines 4', 7' and 15').

While the import of tin and the availability of copper imply an important Anatolian bronze production, the texts tell us nothing about it, apparently because the Assyrians were not involved in it and, surprisingly, also did not trade in it, but bronze objects of course occur as belonging to households in Kanesh and Assur.<sup>361</sup>

### 2.3.6. Wool

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AKT 3, 52:2 records 2 1/4 talents alongside 41 talents of copper, kt k/k 79:1f. more than nine talents, and according to kt m/k 1:34f. the assets left behind by a dead trader comprised also 2 talents and 10 pounds of antimony. Writings like *lu-lā-am* and *lu-lā-a-am* show that the uncontracted form is *lula'um* and not *lulium*, as CAD L suggests.

<sup>358</sup> Note in LB 1202:28ff. Imdilum's request to seven men "to take along each 30 pounds of refined copper for (making) bronze", a letter which (contrary to Dercksen 1996, 119) was probably written from Assur, as a comparison with KTS 19b suggests.

<sup>359</sup> See Veenhof, 1988, 258, and Veenhof 2003d, 71 with note 11.

<sup>360</sup> See for this important city, Michel 1991a and Dercksen 1996, 14 and 254, map B.

<sup>361</sup> See the list in Dercksen 1996, Appendix 3 (textual evidence) and 4 (objects found). In LB 1220 (unpubl.), a list of goods left to/in the care of a woman, alongside large amounts of silver and copper also four talents of bronze appear, and a trader's storeroom, according to kt 94/k 1247:5 contained also bronze. Note that an Anatolian official with the title *rabi siparrim*, "chief of bronze", claimed by Lewy 1958, 95, and Garelli 1963, does not exist, see below note 915.

Several aspects of the trade in wool (including its prices, quantities and provenience) inside Anatolia were first treated by AOATT ch. 7.<sup>362</sup> We read about the preference for "soft, long and very fine wool from Mamma" (TC 3, 65:18ff.) and a debt-note of the wife of Elamma, who lived in Kanesh, records her claim on an Assyrian of 30 pounds of soft wool, to be used for the woof.<sup>363</sup> This could be a commercial operation, but also be an indication of textile production by some Assyrian women in Anatolia, which matches the discovery of spinning whorls and loom weights in some houses in the *kārum*.<sup>364</sup> The role of wool in "the communal trade through enterprises" (*ellutum*) was further analyzed in Dercksen 2004a, ch. 10. Some texts mention considerable quantities<sup>365</sup> and especially the archive found in 1994, to be published by Larsen, contains interesting evidence, which calls for a new analysis of the wool trade. It was frequently linked with that in copper and both were eventually converted into silver and gold for export to Assur. We do not have much evidence for the production or acquisition of wool in Assur, but it is implied by the existence of a home industry by the wives and daughters of the traders, described in AOATT ch. VI.2). Occasional remarks like "wool is expensive in the City",<sup>366</sup> or that a particular type of wool was not obtainable,<sup>367</sup> indicate that it was bought there. Data from Mari indicate that wool could be acquired from the Sukhu nomads, whose herds pastured in the steppe southwest of Assur.<sup>368</sup> Occasionally small quantities of wool were also sent from Anatolia to Assur, perhaps when the prices in Assur were unfavourable and/or the donkeys returning to Assur had some spare capacity.<sup>369</sup>

### 2.3.7. Grain

Grain, especially barley and wheat,<sup>370</sup> were traded by Assyrians and Anatolians and are attested in many debt-notes, probably both for consumptive credit and for commercial purposes. In most of them Anatolians figure as debtors and the due dates, accordingly, are frequently the phases of the agricultural year, ranging from ploughing and seeding to the time of the harvest or when the grain is on the threshing floor, and

<sup>362</sup> See also Dercksen 1996, 125f., because wool was at times exchanged for copper.

<sup>363</sup> Kt 91/k 388:5f., the purpose is indicated by an infinitive in the terminative, *šakākiš*.

<sup>364</sup> See the literature mentioned in Dercksen 2001a, 64 note 141.

<sup>365</sup> BIN 4, 181ff. mention in all near 67 talents (or ca. 2000 kilo's) of wool from Luhusaddia, and a similar amount occurs in kt 87/k 464:17 (courtesy Hecker).

<sup>366</sup> AOATT 112f., no. 4.

<sup>367</sup> Dercksen 2004a, 16 with the proposal to interpret *šurbuutum* wool not as "fourfold wool" (AOATT 190f. and CAD Š/III 342b), but as wool from Šurbu (a town north of Dēr).

<sup>368</sup> Charpin-Durand 1997, 377.

<sup>369</sup> See AOATT 112 no. 2, where two transporters are to bring each five pounds of wool to Pušu-kēn's wife. In no. 4 Lamassī asks to send the silver due to her packed (hidden?) inside a bale of wool (*ina qerab šaptim šuknam*).

<sup>370</sup> See for the names (*še'um* = ŠE and *aršatum* = GIG) and the system of measures used, H. Lewy 1956 and Hoffner 1972, ch.2. In Anatolia there was an official called *rabi še'e/i*, see below VI.1.1.



even the time of picking the grapes.<sup>371</sup> But the commerce in grain, at times in considerable quantities, its origin and destination, still needs a comprehensive analysis. In Assur the families of the traders usually bought their barley when the right season was there in order to lay in a stock (*šapākum*) for the rest of the year. Some lists of assets in a trader's household register considerable quantities (measured by the *šimdu* of ca. 30 liters).<sup>372</sup> It is possible that in a situation of traders who did not grow their own crops, but had to buy barley, its supply, storage and sale or distribution was also a concern of the "City Hall". This could explain the existence of an official designated as "*limu* of the barley" (*ša še'im*), but the context of the only occurrence of this title does not reveal his tasks<sup>373</sup> and we need more evidence to understand what is going on in Assur.

### 2.3.8. Gold

Gold (*hurāšum*, logographically KÜ.GI and KÜ.KI) occurs regularly in our texts and various shapes, types and qualities (normal, good and extra good) are attested as circulating in Anatolia, such as good quality *pašallu*-gold and the cheaper *kupuršinnu*-gold, and gold qualified as HU.SA, *ša abnišu* ("in nuggets"?), *ša damē* ("blood gold"), *ša ma'išu* ("water gold"), *ša šaduišu* ("mountain gold, ore"?), and *ša ti'amtim* ("sea gold"); see provisionally Garelli 1963, 268 and Balkan 1965b, 151, but a detailed investigation is needed. Gold regularly arrived in Assur as part of the proceeds of the trade in Anatolia and we usually see that alongside large amounts silver smaller amounts of gold were shipped back. A good example is the "notifying message" VS 26, 71, in which a trader in Kanesh informs his representatives in Assur that he has sent off 17 minas of silver and 2 minas of gold for making purchases there, amounts are also mentioned in the relevant transport contract TC 1, 70. But before making the purchases the gold was invariably converted (in reality or in the accounts) into silver and the just mentioned transport contract already equates the 2 minas of gold with 16 minas of silver (on the basis of the standard equivalency of 8 to 1). The related "caravan account" TC 3, 43, finally (edited in Larsen 1967 as "type 3:2"), which reports on the purchases carried out in Assur, reveals that the gold consisted of amounts in two different qualities, normal gold, at a rate of 8 1/4/ to 1, and cheaper *kupuršinnu*-gold at 6 2/3 to 1. It was converted into 15 minas and 42 1/2 shekels of silver, the total amount of silver was spent on equipping a new caravan and never read that merchandise was purchased for gold. We do not know what happened to the gold, but it seems possible that it was delivered to the City Hall, where purchases were made or its value in silver was made available to the traders. A

<sup>371</sup> See below VI.2.2 on the payment terms determined by the seasons, and Matouš 1965, 180f., on the additional gifts (sheep, barley, bread, occasionally onions) to be made by the debtor when he pays back.

<sup>372</sup> According to kt 91/k 347 the assets of Elamma's father included 5000 (measures of) barley, and Elamma's *naruqu*-contract, kt 91/k 482:27, mentions among his own assets (*šaltum*) 1500 measures of barley.

<sup>373</sup> See Dercksen 2004a, 60f. [A new reference occurs in kt 93/k 71:20ff. (courtesy Michel), where a *limu ša še'im ša emūqim* occurs in connection with a debt originating from a fine imposed by the City]. Dercksen also quotes a text (note 200) which states that a debtor "will measure out in the city good quality barley according to the exchange rate of the *birum*-functionaries" (*mahir bi-ri*) and identifies the latter with the *birum ša mišittim*, "the *birum* of the storehouse", a functionary "attached to the storehouse of the City Hall".

fact is that gold is several times designated as "gold for/of the journey to the City" (*hurāšum ša harrān ālim*) and apparently had a special importance for Assur. This is clear from a verdict of the City, discussed in Veenhof 1995a, 1733ff.,<sup>374</sup> which tried to limit its circulation among non-Assyrians and forbade its sale to Akkadians, Subaraeans and Amorites on penalty of death. Veenhof 2003d, 95f. explained this as a protectionist measure, on the assumption that it may have been used for commercial purposes by the City Hall, possibly to pay for the tin imported by Elamite caravans, since Elamites (or people from Susa) do not figure among those who are denied access to it. This may be supported by evidence from Mari, because during the few years that this city managed to import tin directly from Susa, gold was frequently paid to buy it (see Joannès 1991). But there may have been other reasons too, also considering the fact that investments in the capital of a joint-stock company (*naruqqum*), though made in silver, normally were rated in gold. Dercksen 2004a, 86, tries to explain this from the city's interest in trade and I quote his proposal, also to show how sophisticated the system may have been. "It is conceivable that the *naruqqu*-partnerships were formed under the auspices of the City, which somehow (perhaps by receiving part of the funds collected during the formation of the partnership) credited the merchant for gold which entitled him to "drawing rights" and to obtain credit and merchandise in that way. The City would then guarantee the capital of the *naruqqu*-contract in gold for an amount which was in effect double that of the market value because of the preferential exchange rate of 4 to 1" (instead of normal ca. 8 to 1 - K.R.V.). We sorely lack the archives of the City Hall, which might substantiate this interesting suggestion, but an explicit statement in a letter could also reveal the truth.

### 2.3.9. *Level Ib*

For the trade during the period of *kārum* level Ib, when there were a number of changes, also in the assortment of goods, I refer to Dercksen 2001, 63ff, § 5. We must be somewhat cautious with conclusions, since our knowledge is limited by the small number of written sources, and we may expect new information, as the discovery of two new commercial treaties in 2000 shows. But it is clear that the Assyrian presence and activity was less dense than before, that the commercial network was smaller, and Dercksen assumes a shift of focus from Kanesh to Mamma and the area called Hattum, while there is no evidence for commercial relations with cities such as Durhumit (in the north) and Burushaddum (in the west), which during the level II period harboured important Assyrian trading colonies. Tin was still imported, but the quantities were much smaller and from this period we lack the typical "caravan reports", with their detailed information on quantities, prices and transport, so prominent during the level II period. Moreover, a new adjective, *tapšum*, denoting a poor quality of tin, appears. The assortment of textiles also changed and while *kutānum*, *kusitum* and other textiles attested in texts from level II were still imported (and therefore are mentioned in the new treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum, see V.3.4.1), textiles and garments called *kuššatum* and *nahlaptum* become more popular, while *saqqum* and *subāt šaptim* make their appearance, together with *zappum*, "bristle", used for the manufacture of brushes.<sup>375</sup>

### 2.3.10. *Quantification*

Quantifications, necessary for economic history, are not easy to give. Most texts concern loads belonging to individual traders or firms and the "caravan letters" which list

<sup>374</sup> See now also Dercksen 2004a, 81f. and note 424.

<sup>375</sup> See for details, Dercksen 2001a, 63ff.

purchases and shipments are not dated, so that it is difficult to know how much was shipped in one particular year. A first (and thus far only) attempt in *AOAT* 69-76, "Table of Caravan Texts", based on 188 texts, yielded a total number of ca. 17.500 (or ca. 650 donkey-loads of) woollen textiles and ca. 13.500 kilograms (or ca. 200 donkey-loads) of tin. The evidence now available, including letters that describe very large caravans,<sup>376</sup> probably allows at least to triple these figures and those for the whole period, with presumably several hundred donkeys each year, must have been much bigger. Occasionally we encounter enormous quantities of copper and wool, several memorandums list debt-claims adding up to many talents of silver,<sup>377</sup> and some of the lists mentioning the total "declared value" (*awitum*), in tin, of merchandise belonging to traders cooperating in an *ellutum*<sup>378</sup> register huge amounts. The biggest thusfar counts 410 talents of tin and 18 talents of silver, which fits the mention of a trading caravan of 300 donkeys in *ARMT* 26/2, 432. There is need for more statistics and the better understanding of the chronology may help us to assign our sources to particular periods, so that we may also discover developments over the time.

#### 2.4. *Financing, companies and partnerships*

Garelli 1963, part 3, ch. 1, "Le crédit", dealt with the role of the figures called *tamkārūm* and *ummiānum* and the financing of the trade, and on p. 379-390 he offered a most welcome "liste des créances". He still assigned a special role to persons called *tamkārūm*, who were considered to be a kind of licensed "intermédiaires agréés", who would have had the duty of facilitating transactions by supplying credit and also by carrying out sales for others, but this idea has since been given up.<sup>379</sup> Still, *tamkārūm*, basically the trader who travels with his merchandise, remains a somewhat opaque term, with a variety of meanings in particular situations.<sup>380</sup> In the Old Assyrian context it can be as well the trader who manages a capital and directs his firm, and the traveling agent, who acquires merchandise on credit to sell it elsewhere. As "capitalist" a *tamkārūm* may also, in particular in Assur, function as moneylender or as a kind of banker, who gives out commercial loans.<sup>381</sup> As such the term also acquires the meaning "creditor", especially in debt-notes where the creditor (in order not to reveal his identity or to make transfer of claims easier) is not mentioned by name, but is designated as *tamkārūm*, "the creditor".<sup>382</sup> *Ummiānum* is the term for "principal",

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<sup>376</sup> Kt 94/k 1686:11ff. (courtesy Larsen) mentions one carrying 684 woolen textiles and 20 talents of tin, shipped on 34 donkeys.

<sup>377</sup> See now e.g. Hecker 2004b.

<sup>378</sup> See Derksen 2004a, 159ff

<sup>379</sup> See now Garelli 1998a, which revises the idea put forward in Garelli 1977.

<sup>380</sup> Since the Assyrians in Anatolia were traders par excellence, *tamkārūm*, from the Anatolian perspective could be used for "Assyrian" (as variant of *mer'a Aššur*) in contrast with *nu'a'um*, "native", used for "Anatolian". Kt n/k 1414:7f. stipulates that a divorced wife can go either to a *nu'a'um* or a *tamkārūm* of her choice. Similarly records may speak of debts due either by *nu'a'ū* or by *tamkārū*, and kt k/k 46:9f. (courtesy Hecker) distinguishes between *tamkārū* and *mer'ū Kaniš*.

<sup>381</sup> See Veenhof, 1999a, 66-69.

<sup>382</sup> See Veenhof 1997b, 351ff. The texts in such cases speak of "marking (the debt-note) by the designation *tamkārūm*" (*šumi tamkārim waddu'um*). A next step is to add that "the bearer of the tablet is the

"investor", and may apply to anyone who supplies capital to a trader, not only those who invest in a joint-stock company (*naruqqum*), as we can observe when they come into action when a trader dies and they want to collect their claims. Many texts speak of *mer'ū ummiānim*, "sons of an *ummiānum*", which may denote both the son of such a man and a trader who belongs to the category of *ummiānū*. They are preferred for responsible tasks, especially for shipping valuable merchandise or for selling goods given in consignment, presumably because of their status and their financial reliability.<sup>383</sup>

An important contribution was Larsen 1977a, supplemented by Larsen 1999, on commercial partnerships (*tappa'ūtum*),<sup>384</sup> and in particular on the "joint stock company" (*naruqqum*), whereby a number of investors (*ummiānū*) by means of a special contract supply a trader for a fair number of years with a large capital. The few examples we have mention capitals of ca. 30 pounds of gold, made available for periods of ten and twelve years for the general purpose of "conducting trade" (*makārum*). The investments are made in silver, but are booked in gold, on the basis of a conversion rate of 4:1 (while the normal one in Assur was ca. 8:1). The investors, some of which figure anonymously (as *tamkārum*, "the creditor") will receive a share in the profits (*nēmulum*), unless they withdraw their capital prematurely. What they will receive is usually called "thirds" (*šalsātum*), which they may acquire both in the form of dividends (*šipkātum*) and at the final settlement of accounts, partly guaranteed (hundred percent, because shares rated in gold will be paid back in silver on the basis of the normal conversion rate of 8:1) and partly depending on the success of the business.<sup>385</sup> The issue of credit was treated more in detail by Veenhof 1997b, 351ff., "Anonymous creditors and bearer's cheques", and this was followed up by Dercksen 1999 and Veenhof 1999a, in the volume *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia*. The former analyzed forms of credit designated as *būlātum*, *šaltum* (a trader's own assets), *maškattum*, *qiptum*, *tadmīqtum* and *ebuttum* (long term investment loans), and furthered the understanding of partnerships (*tappa'ūtum*) and the joint-stock companies (*naruqqum*). Veenhof focused on the role of silver<sup>386</sup> and of commercial credit granted by traders to clients and especially to traveling agents or commissioners (called *tamkārum*) who received merchandise in consignment and were used by the Assyrians to sell their merchandise over a wide area.<sup>387</sup> In addition he investigated the role of the (perhaps professional)

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creditor" (*wābil tuppim šut tamkārum*), for which we twice find "the holder of the tablet" (TPAK 120a:6, *muka'il tuppim*; kt 91/k 195:27f., *mu-ki-ilš tuppim*).

<sup>383</sup> See for them Dercksen 1999, 86f.

<sup>384</sup> See already Landsberger 1950a, 331ff. and now also Dercksen 2004a, ch. 9,1 on the *ellutum* as a form of partnership.

<sup>385</sup> See now also Larsen 1999, Hecker 1999 (collation of the main *naruqqu*-contract) and Dercksen 2004a, ch. 5.4, quoted in the previous paragraph. The *naruqqu*-contract of Elamma, kt 91/k 482, from year 77, writes in lines 23ff., "After ten years he will render an account" (*nikkassē iddan*) and at the end adds that his own assets (*šaltum*, which presumably served as a kind of security) consist of 1500 measures of barley, two slaves and the share (in his father's inheritance, called *zittum lu kursinnātum*).

<sup>386</sup> Elaborating on AOATT ch. 17, where he opposed the view on OA trade put forward by Polanyi 1957 and 1968, on the institutional setting of the trade and advocated the role of a price-forming market governed by supply and demand.

<sup>387</sup> See also Veenhof 1997b, 351ff., on "anonymous creditors and bearer's cheques".

moneylenders, who granted commercial loans to traders, and to the various ways in which such credit was secured, a subject treated more in detail in Veenhof 2001. Dercksen 1997 studied the way in which temples invested in the trade, by making merchandise or funds, designated as *ikribū*, "votive gifts", available to traders as long term profitable investments. Dercksen 2004a, ch. 2, collected evidence for the role of the City Hall in granting loans and selling textiles, lapis lazuli and possibly also tin for export to Anatolia on credit.

All these financial operations, many also carried out by book transfer or by depositing goods, required careful accounting. Apart from the numerous private legal actions to dun debtors and agents who failed to meet their due dates, we have evidence for private settlements of accounts (*nikkassī šasā'um*) in *kārum* Kanesh, which could take place in the presence of witnesses or perhaps arbiters and some of which were carried out to solve conflicts.<sup>388</sup> But there were also periodic (presumably annual) general settlements of accounts organized by the *kārum* office (*nikkassū ša kārim*), analyzed in Dercksen 2004a, ch. 11. They were particularly important for the class of main traders, the "big" (*rabiūtum*) members of the *kārum*, also designated as *šāqil dātim*, "those who pay the *dātu*-fee". They contributed to the finances of the *kārum* and for that reasons enjoyed the privilege of not having to pay fees and taxes due to *kārum* Kanesh en route in Anatolia, but of settling them periodically in Kanesh. This also earned them the designation *awilū ša nikkassī*, "men of an account", and as such they also occur in the "Statutes of the *kārum*".<sup>389</sup>

Several studies paid attention to the role of women, both those who had stayed behind in Assur and those living in the colonies in Anatolia, who supported their husbands, but were also liable for the consequences of bad business. When debts had to be paid, especially in Assur, private or public creditors (the *limum* as head of the City Hall) could dun the families and especially the wives of debtors and create serious problems by forcing them to hand over valuable pledges (jewels and objects of bronze), and even their houses in Assur could be sealed and sold.<sup>390</sup>

Debts of Anatolians, both to Assyrians and to fellow Anatolians, make a special category. The basic features of credit granted to Anatolians are well presented in Garelli 1963, 257ff., and though we now have much more sources and know more details, the basic picture still stands. It is characterized by higher interest (than the 30 percent current among Assyrians) and by stipulating or actually obtaining more and better securities (pledges, guarantors, joint liability - especially of married couples, - and a kind of general mortgage on the possessions of the debtor) in order to enhance the possibilities of enforcing payment or obtaining compensation. The latter have been treated more in detail by Veenhof 2001, esp. § 4, who also noted new devices to protect creditors, such as the right to borrow the amount due from a debtor from a moneylender at the expense of the defaulting debtor (§ 2,c). The methods of the Assyrian traders and creditors in this respect were not much different from the ways in which Anatolian creditors tried to protect their financial interests and secure their claims,<sup>391</sup> occasionally even by an accumulation of securities, which at times may

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<sup>388</sup> Simple settlements of accounts in EL 167-169 and 173, settlements before witnesses, recorded in depositions submitted during a lawsuit in EL 260-261, 269-270, and CCT 5, 15a.

<sup>389</sup> See for a first interpretation AOAT 274ff. and now Dercksen 2004a, ch. 7,1.

<sup>390</sup> AOAT ch. 6.2, Hecker 1978b, Garelli 1979, Michel 1998a and 2003c

<sup>391</sup> See the contracts listed in Garelli 1963, 384f., the records analyzed in Matouš 1965, the files of Enišaru (Veenhof 1976), Aše'ed

reflect a limited understanding of the legal rules, but may also have been stipulated to leave the creditor the choice of how to indemnify himself if his debtor defaulted. Contracts with Anatolian debtors (not infrequently multiple debtors, among which many married couples) and in particular loans between Anatolians are important because they acquaint us with a variety of due dates, the phases the agricultural years and festivals of the gods (see below VI.2) and in addition contain interesting stipulations on additional gifts (sheep, breads, onions, see Matouš 1965, 180f.) to be delivered by debtors

## 2.5. *Law and the administration of justice*

The commercial activities, especially the system of credit and investment (with the concomitant need of securities), forms of cooperation with business partners, employment of personnel, but also the acquisition of slaves and houses, and the need to regulate and record important events in the life of the family (adoption, marriage, divorce, inheritance) generated a great variety of contracts. *EL* contains a large selection of such texts, which can now be substantially increased, but this volume has not had a sequel. The increased importance attached to archival studies does not favour separate editions of legal documents and the growing number of texts rather stimulates a focus on particular types of records and specific areas of law and legal procedures. The latter approach resulted in editions and studies of specific types of contracts, such as Rosen 1977, on the loan contracts published after *EL*, and Kienast 1984 on deeds of sale. There also appeared a variety of thematic studies, at times in the form of a commentary added to the publication of new sources. An example of an archival approach in legal matters is Matouš 1969, the analysis of a large dossier dealing with a fight about the inheritance of a prominent trader. Full data and bibliographical references on the developments can be found in Veenhof 2003c, and here I only mention studies on *be'ulatum* (the interest free loan by means of which caravan personnel was hired),<sup>392</sup> securities,<sup>393</sup> the sale of houses and slaves,<sup>394</sup> marriage,<sup>395</sup> inheritance,<sup>396</sup> and also those on the validity and duration of contracts.<sup>397</sup> A special study of the rules of inheritance (starting from the survey in Veenhof 2003c, § 6,c) is a desideratum, since all OA inheritances were divided on the basis of testaments or last wills (*šimtum*), which must have allowed the testator to interfere with the traditional rules in order to care well for the female members of his family (the widow and unmarried daughters who were priestesses) and to take also commercial interests into account.

Some of the stipulations and formulations encountered in OA contracts prove to be forerunners of what is known for later periods, both from Assyria proper (Middle Assyrian documents) and from the northern periphery (Nuzi, Emar, Ugarit). An example is a recently published testament in which the Assyrian widow not only receives a full

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(Donbaz 1988a), and Madawada (Albayrak 1998), and KKS nos. 7-8, 11, and 31.

<sup>392</sup> Kienast 1989, with corrections and additions in Veenhof 1994b.

<sup>393</sup> Kienast 1976, and more in general Veenhof 2001.

<sup>394</sup> Hecker 1980b and 1998a, Günbatı 1989, Farber 1990, Bayram-Veenhof 1992, Bayram 1996, Donbaz 2001d, and Veenhof 2003b.

<sup>395</sup> Matouš 1973, Balkan 1986 (betrothal), Bayram-Çeçen 1995, Rems 1996, Michel-Garelli 1996b, and Veenhof 1998b.

<sup>396</sup> Wilcke 1976, Albayrak 2000 and 2004.

<sup>397</sup> Michel 1995 and Veenhof 2003a, 112ff.

share in the silver, but her property rights are defined by stating that "she is mother and father over the silver".<sup>398</sup> OA also produced the first house sale contract that explicitly states that the original title deed of a house was handed over by the seller to the new owner.<sup>399</sup> Other original legal solutions may be due to the creativity of the Assyrians, who had to cope with new social and commercial issues. A recently published contractual agreement fixes the position of an unmarried sister, a priestess, after the death of her father, by stipulating that "she will live, be fed and be anointed" in the house of her sister and the latter's Anatolian husband, "just like (or: as if) she was their mother".<sup>400</sup> Creativity is also attested in developing contractual rules to protect and indemnify creditors against defaulting debtors, such as the authorization to borrow the amount of the debt from a moneylender at the expense of the debtor,<sup>401</sup> and the possibility for a guarantor who had been forced to pay for a debtor, to charge the latter compound interest.

Such contractual relationships together with the ensuing legal conflicts or commercial problems, especially in cases of default of payment, bankruptcy, fraud, disagreements, and the death of a trader,<sup>402</sup> could lead to conflicts, which produced a large variety of judicial records. They reflect the attempts to recover the facts, to solve conflicts, and to make justice prevail, especially by enforcing payments due. *EL* contained a large body of all kinds of relevant texts, and Michel 2000a presents a smaller sample in translation. The documents range from records of private summons, which may lead to "settlements of account" (*nikkassī šasā'um*), "payment contracts" (*tarkistum*),<sup>403</sup> arbitration, and verdicts by the *kārum* or the City Assembly. Their increased numbers and variety have led to new attempts to reconstruct the judicial norms and procedures (e.g. in Veenhof 1991a and the outline in Veenhof 2003c), and T. Hertel, in Copenhagen, is now preparing a dissertation on this subject, starting from on a very large file (of ca. 70 texts) on a complex legal fight, preserved in the archive excavated in 1994. During the last decennium progress has been made both by the commentaries accompanying editions of new texts and by more thematic studies. They can deal with specific cases,<sup>404</sup> types of texts, such as testimonies and depositions by witnesses submitted to a *kārum*,<sup>405</sup> protocols of interrogations and of oaths sworn,<sup>406</sup> provisional and final verdicts, and the procedures followed. Also studied are the bodies

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<sup>398</sup> See Michel 2000b, 3ff.

<sup>399</sup> Kt 91/k 522:15ff., see Veenhof 2003b, no.1, "The deed of purchase of this house, sealed by the Anatolian who was the previous owner, A. (seller) gave to Š. (buyer)". The same article also publishes a contract, kt 91/k 410:7ff., which mentions a symbolic action accompanying the sale of a slave, "he (the seller) cut off the *hāmum* in our presence".

<sup>400</sup> Kt 2001/k 325a, published in Albayrak 2004; the words used are *kīma ummišunu .... ušbat aklat u paššat ištīšunuma*, the contract is from the level Ib period.

<sup>401</sup> See Veenhof 1999a, 66ff.

<sup>402</sup> See on some cases Michel 1992c, 1994, and 1998e, and more in general Veenhof 1995a, 1726ff.

<sup>403</sup> See Veenhof 1999a, 81f.

<sup>404</sup> Matouš 1969 (legal fight after a trader's death), comparable to the elaborate analysis of a number of interrelated records in the last part of *EL*.

<sup>405</sup> Veenhof 1991.

<sup>406</sup> Garelli 1982 and Michel 1997c (on oaths), Bayram 2001, and Donbaz 2001a (on "the dagger of Assur").

that administer justice (*wabartum*, *kārum*, City Assembly,<sup>407</sup> and "the elders", *šibūtum*),<sup>408</sup> and the role of those involved, ranging from the parties in a conflict to witnesses (factual and court witnesses)<sup>409</sup>, arbiters (*dajjānū*). In addition persons designated as "those who solve the conflict" (*pāšir awātim*), "those who settle the conflict" (*gāmir awātim*), and the "attorney" (*rābišum*) assigned to a plaintiff in Assur by a decision of the city and the ruler and mentioned in the inscription of Erišum I.<sup>410</sup> Specific issues studied are a ruling on the compensation of losses of a communal caravan, legal instruments to secure care in old age, and a decision (described as an act of clemency of the god Assur)<sup>411</sup> on the redemption of houses in Assur sold for debts.<sup>412</sup>

Ancient Anatolian law, as documented in the many native contracts, but always in Old Assyrian linguistic garb and therefore liable to Assyrian influence, still needs a comprehensive separate analysis, especially now that more native records from the level Ib period become available. Some records document features that probably are of Assyrian or Mesopotamian inspiration, such as royal measures for the cancellation ("washing off", *masā'um*) of debts,<sup>413</sup> stipulations on defaulting debtors and securities,<sup>414</sup> and penalties on breach of contract and elements in marriage law. This may also be true of the remarkable Anatolian contract kt 84/k 169 (Bayram-Veenhof 1992, 92 no.1) on the acquisition of a field as antichretic pledge for longtime exploitation by the creditors, formulated as a purchase in order to facilitate its eventual conveyance. As a kind of forerunner of similar Middle Assyrian contracts it suggests Mesopotamian inspiration, but we cannot exclude native Anatolian elements. There is, in fact, sufficient evidence for Anatolia's own legal customs, such as a particular type of brotherhood adoption and contracts about separation from a household,<sup>415</sup> and rules about a system of service obligations attached to the possession of a house.<sup>416</sup> The relatively small number of documents available means that our knowledge of Anatolian law is still limited and that new discoveries may bring surprises, such as a recent deed of sale of fields and an orchard, which contains a provision on the shared used of the irrigation water.<sup>417</sup>

## 2.6. History and politics

<sup>407</sup> Larsen 1976, 153f. and 175ff.

<sup>408</sup> Larsen 1976, 162ff.

<sup>409</sup> See for the distinction Veenhof 1991, 457ff.

<sup>410</sup> See Larsen 1976, 184-89, Veenhof 1994b, and *RIMA* 1, 21: 55, which speaks of "an attorney of the palace" (Grayson "a palace deputy").

<sup>411</sup> *Aššur ennān ālišu ilteqe*. See for "clemency" (*ennanātum*) in Old Assyrian now also Dercksen 2004a, 251ff.

<sup>412</sup> Respectively Veenhof 1995a, 1730f. (with Dercksen 2004a, 171f.), Veenhof 1997a, and 1999b.

<sup>413</sup> See Balkan 1976.

<sup>414</sup> Veenhof 1978 and 2001, 142ff. Note the interesting case of the conditional sale by debtors of a field which the buyers can cultivate for five years, during which period the owners can get it back at the original price, a forerunner of similar Middle Assyrian "restricted conveyances" (Bayram-Veenhof 1992, 92ff, no.1)

<sup>415</sup> Veenhof 1998, 145ff. and Dercksen 2004b, 143f.

<sup>416</sup> See Dercksen 2004b, 140ff., on *arhalum*, *unuššum* and *tuzinnum*.

<sup>417</sup> Kt o/k 54:9ff., *mimma ma'ē šiqitim ša kilallēšunu*, see Albayrak 2001.



The small number of royal inscriptions, now easily accessible in *RIMA 1*, does not tell us much about Assur's early history, but attention has focused on those of Iluṣuma and Erišum I, with their references to royal measures that point at a deliberate economic policy.<sup>418</sup> The archival texts from the colonies are so much concerned with the trade that they contain almost no information on the wider political or economic setting of the city of Assur, apart from a rare reference to problems with the import of "Akkadian textiles": Akkadians do not come to Assur because their country is in "upheaval", but we cannot identify or date the event.<sup>419</sup> Occasional problems with the supply of tin, which was imported from the south, ultimately from Susa, were hardly due to political events, since the texts simply state that "the caravans from the Lower Country (*māt šapiltim*) are delayed", but are expected to arrive.<sup>420</sup> Texts from *kārum* Kanesh never mention any Mesopotamian city or king, so that synchronisms are lacking; even Assur's important southern neighbour Eshnunna does not occur in the texts.<sup>421</sup> We also learn nothing about the political status of the various towns in Northern Mesopotamia, between Tigris and Euphrates, which functioned as road stations for the Assyrian caravans, apart from references to anonymous local dignitaries (called *massu'um* and *g/kaššum*)<sup>422</sup> who receive gifts and occasionally to a palace or ruler.<sup>423</sup>

We have a remarkable verdict of the City Assembly, which forbids Assyrians to sell or barter gold to "an Akkadian, Amorite and Subarean",<sup>424</sup> which means traders from Babylonia, from the Hurrianized areas north of Assur, on both sides of the Tigris (including Nineveh)<sup>425</sup>, and from the area of the western bend of the Euphrates and the Balikh, called Amurru (written MAR.TU, <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU, or *Amurru*), in which a. o. the town

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<sup>418</sup> See Larsen 1976, part 1, ch. 2, and below, ch. III. The inscription of Erišum discovered in *kārum* Kanesh, *RIMA 1*, 20f., is not helpful for political history, but important for understanding the administration of justice in ancient Assur.

<sup>419</sup> In VS 26,17:6-8, the writer of the letters considers the possibility that they will arrive before the winter. This event may have caused a rise in the price of these expensive products, as reported in TC 1, 11:9ff. (see AOAT 98).

<sup>420</sup> AKT 3, 73 and 74; see Dercksen 2004a, 28f.

<sup>421</sup> See for Eshnunna, Dercksen 2004a, 29f., who points to the fact that Eshnunna was in decline until the reign of Ipiq-Adad II (ca. 1860 BC). Eponym no. 44, from ca. 1930 BC, is Šu-Anum, said to be from Nērabtum.

<sup>422</sup> See Nashef 1987, 22ff. and for *g/kaššum* below VI.1.2.2. TC 3, 163:26ff. mentions an expense for a libation for the dagger of Aššur in Apūm, which implies that the god had a cella or shrine there, probably in the local Assyrian *kārum*, attested in AKT 2, 19:13.

<sup>423</sup> Garelli 1965, 40 no. 17.

<sup>424</sup> Kt 79/k 101, see Veenhof 1995a, 1732f. and Dercksen 2004a, 81f. Lines 19ff. read: *hurāšam ana A-ki-di-im A-mu-ri-im ü Šu-bi-ri-im mamman lā iddan*. I assume that the singular of the nisbe refers to persons from these areas in general, in particular traders, and not specifically to a ruler or king.

<sup>425</sup> See for Hurrianized region, called Šubarum, Dercksen 1996, 163. Nineveh is mentioned only once in kt n/k 931 (AMMY 1992, 61f., no. 10), which books expenses in tin (which means for a caravan transport) for a trip from *Ni-nu-a* to Burallum and for a compensatory payment (because more tin was spent en route than the leader of the caravan had received in advance) for a trip from Assur to Ninua.

of Nehria was located and where Amorites (*Amurrium*) lived.<sup>426</sup> How far to the west, from the Assyrian point of view, "Amurrium" reached is not clear, but it is possible that traders from Ebla, who occur several times in the texts, were also considered Amorites.<sup>427</sup> Assur had commercial contacts with "Akkad", the area south of Assur, from which "Akkadian textiles" were imported, which must have included Eshnunna, in line with the statement of Iluṣuma that his measures affected the Akkadians all the way from the Persian Gulf until Dēr and Assur (see below III.1.3). But import of textiles and presumably copper from the south apparently did not prevent considering "Akkadians" as rivals in the trade. This is implied by the just mentioned prohibition of selling gold to them and confirmed by a surprising stipulation in the draft of a treaty<sup>428</sup> with a ruler in southern Anatolia, probably somewhere in the area of the great western bend of the Euphrates, near Hahhum. He has to promise that he will extradite Akkadians, presumably Babylonian traders who travelled north via the Euphrates and came to his country, to be killed by the Assyrians (see below V.3.3). But alongside such protectionism also good relations were necessary with cities and lands whose cooperation was essential for the trade and the safety of the caravan. We do not know which traders, apart from the already mentioned "Akkadians" visited Assur to sell their goods and make purchases. But the just mentioned verdict on the restricted circulation of gold does not mention people (traders) from Elam or Susa, from where the tin was imported in Assur, directly or indirectly. If indeed caravans from Susa visited Assur, the fact that they are not mentioned in the decree could imply that they were welcome and that part of the gold Assur acquired may have been used to pay them.<sup>429</sup>

We have a variety of information on the relations between the Assyrians and the rulers of the various city-states in Anatolia, in whose territories the Assyrians had settled and traded on the basis of treaties (called "oaths", *mamitum*). From level II we only have the just mentioned report on a treaty, but there are now also two (damaged) treaties from the time of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib, concluded with the rulers of Kanesh and Hahhum (below Ch. V.2). Both are nearly exclusively concerned with bilateral issues, but the

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<sup>426</sup> Amurrium as a region or area (not listed in Nashef 1991) occurs in two letters of Šalim-ahum, who writes <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU and uses it with the prepositions *ina libbi* and *ana libbi*, which also occur with *mātum*. CCT 2, 3:5, "I sold the merchandise in Amurrium (*illibbi Amurrim*) and collected my silver", and TC 3, 20:9, "Buy tin (in Assur) and let P. leave with D for (*allibbi*) Amurrium" (see Lewy 1961, 62f.). Also in kt n/k 522:4 (a letter sent *ištu libbi MAR.TU<sup>im</sup>*), CCT 2, 5a: 19f. (copper for a value of 5 minas of tin given for <covering expenses to be made in> Amurrium, *ana A-mu-ri-im*), same phrase in kt n/k 524:22 (copper for a value of x tin given for <payments to be made in> Amurrium, *ana MAR.TU*; both kt n/k texts courtesy Günbatti). See perhaps also AKT 3, 75:15, among expenses of a caravan journey, "6 minas of tin which you paid *ana Amurrim*". There are also some references to "Amorites" of this area, e.g. "two Amorites of Nehria" (CCT 2, 49a:14). The qualification *a-mu-ru-um* used of silver does not mean "Amorite silver", but "inspected, tested" (*ammurum*) silver of good quality, see Sturm 1995a.

<sup>427</sup> See for Eblaites in our sources, Dercksen 1996, 164, and above note 230.

<sup>428</sup> Kt n/k 793, see now Cécen-Hecker 1995, Günbatti 2004, 250 note 8, and below V.1.

<sup>429</sup> Tin was usually imported in Mari via intermediaries (Eshnunna and/or Sippar), but when for a few years Mari managed to establish direct commercial contacts with Susa and the Elamites, gifts and payments sent to Elam were predominantly in gold. See Joannès 1991.

second, in a damaged passage (I [III]:26 ff.) considers the possibility that hostilities have broken out between rulers of Hahhum and Timilkia (in the plain of Elbistan, north of Hahhum) or Batna (presumably south of Hahhum, near Süruc, the location of classical Batnae), both cities with an Assyrian *kārum*. This of course would create difficulties for Assyrian caravans on the way to Kanesh, but damage of the tablet deprives us of information on what this rule meant in concrete, but it is possible that the treaty stipulated that such hostilities could not be a reason blocking the caravan traffic. The mention of such hostilities (just like that of the penetration of Akkadian traders into the territory of the ruler who concluded the earlier treaty) probably reflects experiences or at least the awareness that such things could happen and the wish to minimize their effect on Assyrian business.

Information on the political situation in Anatolia is rare and often laconic, since it is only given to inform traders or to warn them against problems and dangers. The most interesting source is the very broken letter KTK 10, presented in Larsen 1972 under the title "A Revolt against Hattuša", where an Assyrian reports on a serious conflict which involves several kings:

*"... the ruler of Amkuwa here .... and the rulers of Šinahutum, Amkuwa, and Kapitra made common cause and rebelled against the ruler of Hattuš (Hattušāim). To the ruler of Kanesh ..."*

There is no need to assign this letter to level Ib, since the nisbe *Hattušāium* is now well attested during the level II period and does not presuppose the later form of the city name Hattuša (instead of current OA Hattuš). Moreover, it is unlikely that *nakārum* here means "to rebel against", and if we translate "to start hostilities"<sup>430</sup> the text would speak of a coalition of three cities against Hattuš, but not a rebellion of three vassal states against their overlord, the ruler of Hattuš. Unfortunately, the exact date and context of this event is unknown.

Two Anatolian debt-notes mention kings by name to fix the date when a debt was contracted. In ICK 1, 178:2ff. it happened "when Larbarša became king" (*inūmi Labarša rubā'ūtam išbutu*), but we do not even know of which city,<sup>431</sup> and in kt n/k 76:12f. it was "when Asu, the king of Luhussaddia had died".<sup>432</sup> KTS 50c records a gift presented "when the queen of Wahšušana entered (her city)", which must have been a

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<sup>430</sup> Larsen mentions that the construction of the verb with personal accusative object is not normally used for "to rebel against", where a preposition (*itti/isti*) is common, but not that Oakk royal inscriptions (Naram-Sin's tale on the "great revolt") and an OB royal inscription inspired by his example, use *nakārum* with accusative object ("against me"). In the new treaty with the ruler of Hahhum, which considers the possibility of hostilities or war with Timilkia and Batna, use *nakārum isti*, which cannot mean "to rebel against", since Hahhum was not a vassal state, but an independent kingdom.

<sup>431</sup> See Balkan 1957, 54. The record is broken and only contains the name of the debtor, without patronym. He has to pay "when he returns from Hattum", the designation of the area within the bend of the Kızılırmak, which suggests that Labarša ruled elsewhere. Note also the grain loan kt k/k 33 (courtesy Hecker), to be given back "by means of the measuring jar of Labarša" (*ikkarpiitum ša Labarša*), where Labarša is neither creditor, nor debtor, nor witness, hence perhaps the official standard of the ruler.

<sup>432</sup> See for the text Donbaz 1988a, 51f. (level Ib period).

special occasion, perhaps when she arrived as bride of the local king.<sup>433</sup> This is one of the many cases where an Anatolian ruler during the level II period is only identified by a nisbe, without giving his name and often even without stating of which city he was king, because this was known to the correspondents. This is the case in AKT 1, 78:12ff., where a ruler (city not mentioned) advises an Assyrian trader not to travel to Wahšušana "until the (his?) *rabi sikkitim* has made the ruler of Burushaddum, Ušunālum and the ruler of Wahšušana swear the oath". Another fascinating text, a deposition, contains a report on a discussion with a local ruler and his queen on the fate of an Assyrian trader who is accused of having acted as messenger for the ruler's enemy, the king of Tawinia.<sup>434</sup> The letter BIN 6,23 (CMK 69) reports on the conflagration of a palace, which so much occupies the minds of the court that it is impossible to ask the local *rabi sikkitim* to pay his debts, "the man has spent all his silver on/for his land". CCT 4, 30a (CMK 98) tells us that at a certain moment the throne of the king of Hahhum was not secure, because he had committed bloodshed, which is the reason why there is no agreement yet on the oath (treaty) to be sworn.<sup>435</sup>

Other scattered pieces of information mention political tensions and hostilities between various cities. Kt n/k 1429:14 speaks of hostilities of (in) Kanesh" (*nukurātum ša Kanish*)<sup>436</sup> and several texts refer to "upheaval" or "revolt" (*sahā'um, sihītum*) in a city or a "land", in CCT 4, 42a:18f. in Hahhum, in LB 1209:14 in the land (of) Kunanāmit, in KTH 1:4f. in Burushaddum and Wahšušana, in kt m/k 13:25 in Burushaddum alone, and in BIN 4, 34:8f., CCT 3, 28a:29, kt n/k 1464:25f., and TC 3, 112:21 in unidentified "lands". The nature of these events remains unclear, apart from the fact that they interfere with the trade, but one text seems to link "upheaval" with the death of a king and military danger.

*"Here the king has fallen during/in the sikkātum and there is upheaval within the city and we fear for our lives. There are enemies over a distance of one and a half hour and nobody dares to go out into the countryside. One even tries to make us set out together with him for doing battle! In the meantime absolutely no contracts must be*

<sup>433</sup> *Inūmi rubātum Wahšūšanāitu tērubanni*, see for the text Ulshöfer 1995, 126. The text cannot be dated, since the *limum* mentioned is not the year eponym, but a representative of the *kārum*.

<sup>434</sup> The report is preserved in two duplicates kt n/k 504 and kt 93/ k 145, see Günbattı 2001, also on the question which ruler might be meant. See also kt 87/k 249 (Hecker 1996a, 148f.), the emotional letter of an Assyrian who complains that he, although the ruler (city not mentioned) initially had spoken "very good words", having been defamed as being only "a slave of the ruler" (of Assur?), had been put in jail ten months ago. He asks for intervention of the *kārum* (Kanesh?) to prevent that silver of the city of Assur gets lost and he himself dies without reason (not the order of the two arguments). We would like to know which ruler was involved.

<sup>435</sup> The king in this case probably was the one of Hahhum, because the local "Ten-men board" (*ešartum*) was among the writers of this letter, who repeatedly went up to the palace in order to settle the matter of the oath.

<sup>436</sup> Mentioned as the time when a financial liability started, presumably somewhere in the years 81-84, see Veenhof 2003, 61. The possibility of *nukurum* with neighbouring cities or states, which might disturb the trade, is also mentioned in the text of a level II treaty (kt n/k 794:25), and with the use of the verb *nakārum* in the level Ib treaty with the ruler of Hahhum (see Günbattı 2004, 250 note 8 and 258, III:26ff., and below V.3.2).

*drawn up, lest we get indebted to our principals for no less than one talent of silver. When the country becomes peaceful again and the ruler will conclude an agreement with him, tablets can again be sent somewhere.*"<sup>437</sup>

Since in such Assyrian texts of level II not a single Anatolian king or queen is ever mentioned by name, historical conclusions are extremely difficult to draw and it is even impossible to say something about the royal line of Kanesh itself.

More names of Anatolian rulers are known from the level Ib period, rarely from their own archival texts (such as the Anum-hirbi letter) and mainly from the so-called 'notarizations' at the end of Anatolian legal records. They state that the transaction was passed under supervision and probably with permission of the king mentioned by name (e.g. *iqqātē Inar rubā'im*), frequently followed by the mention of "chief of the stairway" (*rabi simmiltim*; see below IV.2.5). But these Anatolian documents are never dated, so that we do not know how long these rulers reigned. Their sequence has to be deduced from prosopographic and other data, with the help of the fact that twice the ruler's *rabi simmiltim* apparently was the crown-prince who in due time succeeded him (Inar - Waršama, Pithana - Anitta). But this was not always the case, not with Halgiašu, the "chief of the stairway" of Waršama (who occurs six times) and also not with Peruwa-Kammalia, the one of Anitta (attested in kt 89/k 371). Was the dynastic sequence in these cases interrupted by death,<sup>438</sup> conquest or revolt?

Most references in which Anatolian rulers figure have to do with the trade and concern normal procedures relating to sale, fixing prices, trade in iron, and taxation, but several also deal with smuggling, confiscation, losses, theft, fines, imprisonment, and ransom. There are even a few cases where Assyrians are killed and "blood money" had to be paid as compensation.<sup>439</sup> The normal commercial relations with "the palace", when merchandise was cleared by paying taxes, are not normally detailed in letters, which only mention prices, amounts and figures. Problems and conflicts, on the other hand, just like political events that interfere with the trade,<sup>440</sup> may result in letters that report on them and ask for help of colleagues or of the Assyrian colonial authorities. The handling of such conflicts shows that there were certain rules governing the relation between the

<sup>437</sup> Kt 92/k 526:6-21, *annakam* <sup>7</sup> *rubā'um issikkātim maqitma* <sup>8</sup> *ina qerab ālim sihitum* <sup>9</sup> *šaknat* (Çecen 202, 67f.). *Sikkātum* is an outdoor event of ceremonial and/or military nature, in which people take part en masse, and which may be harmful for the trade (see Veenhof 1989, 521f.). Read in line 11 *bēra u zūza*, and in 14 *qādišuma ušteṇeššūniātima*, but it is not clear to whom "together with him" refers and who is meant in line 22 by "with him", unless *maqātum* in line 7 does not mean "to fall (in battle)", but "to fall upon", "to arrive suddenly". We cannot date this event, also because the archive to which the text belongs is still unpublished.

<sup>438</sup> Note the mention of "an epidemic of (in) Burušhaddum" (*mutānū ša Burušhaddim*) in kt n/k 1339:10f. (Çecen 1995, no.1).

<sup>439</sup> See below, V.3.3, also Günbatı 1995, 1997, and Çecen 1998b, with references to settlements about blood money (*damū*) between Assyrians, which in some cases may concern money paid by Anatolians. In kt b/k 258 an Assyrian owes the *kārum* an interest bearing debt of 80 shekels of silver, described as "expenses of (made for) the blood money of Zaniwata, he (the *kārum*?) paid it in the name/because of Ennum-Aššur". Was Z. victim or culprit, was the whole sum spent to obtain the blood money or did it comprise expenses and blood money, and was the sum advanced for E. or paid because he was the victim?

<sup>440</sup> Texts may speak of *sukurtum*, "suspension (of traffic)", see CAD S s.v.

palaces and the Assyrians and it was soon concluded that they had been stipulated in a kind of treaties (simply called "oath", *mamītum*). Their substance could also be reconstructed from recurring features in caravan texts, regarding taxes, the right of pre-emption, and protection of caravans, to which one could add residence rights and extraterritorial rights (see below V.1.A).<sup>441</sup> Those on compensation for the loss of merchandise and on the payment of blood money are best attested, because they could lead to discussions and negotiations with the rulers, both by the victimized traders and by representatives of the *kārum*, reported in letters (see below V.3.2 and 3).

In the absence of treaty texts (which only became available in 1994) information on the relation between the Assyrians and the Anatolian rulers was derived from a relatively small number of texts, especially from the correspondence between Assyrian colonial authorities and Anatolian rulers, from private Assyrian letters which report on contacts and conflicts with the latter, and from a few depositions in which persons involved in such contacts report on what was said and done. Garelli 1963 carefully analyzed those known by then and used them to refute Lewy's thesis of a political domination of Anatolia by Assur, but since the letters report on *ad hoc* situations and there obviously were differences in status between the different Anatolian rulers, not all questions could be solved. Larsen 1976, 244f., already pointed out that we should be careful in extrapolating from the available texts in which the local rulers may address *kārum* Kanesh as "our fathers", usually make the diplomatic overtures to conclude or renew a treaty and swear the oaths. A recently published deposition<sup>442</sup> may serve as a corrective, though it does not deal with trade, but with the accusation that an Assyrian trader passed on information of a ruler's enemy. Since Garelli's analysis not many new letters have become known,<sup>443</sup> and the picture still is not very sharp. But it is clear that this remarkable relationship, in which the Assyrians had no recourse to military power, was based on mutual economic interests and strict observance of what had been agreed, though this could not prevent individual persons on both sides from occasionally infringing on details of the agreements.

Evidence on Anatolia during the period of *kārum* level Ib, notwithstanding the smaller number of texts, is at times more detailed, in particular thanks to ca. twenty records of the sale of houses and slaves, of redemption, divorce, and the establishment and dissolution of a kind of brotherhood community, which involve Anatolians persons and were "notarized" by the local ruler, usually together with "the head of the stairway".<sup>444</sup> They acquaint us with the names of several rulers, Anitta, Inar, Pithana, Warša/uma, and Zuzu,<sup>445</sup> and, in the absence of numbers or names of years, present the challenge<sup>446</sup> of dating them or at least of putting those of Kanesh in an acceptable chronological sequence, which thus far is only clear for the sequences Inar - Waršuma and Pithana - Anitta.

<sup>441</sup> See the picture drawn in Larsen 1976, 243-46.

<sup>442</sup> See now Günbattı 2001 and above note 434.

<sup>443</sup> New were CMK nos. 35, 37, 44, 55, 56, 59, 91, 93, 94a, 95, 100, 101, and 105.

<sup>444</sup> See below IV.2.5. 'Notarization' was expressed by stating that the transaction took place "through the hands of" (*iqqāte*) the ruler, see Balkan 1957, 45 and Garelli 1963, 61f.

<sup>445</sup> References in Donbaz 1990b and 1996b and in N. Özgüç 1996a, who publishes the seals on these texts and tries to assign them relative dates. Add kt n/k 1: 12'f., a slave sale, [*iqqāte*] Pithana.

<sup>446</sup> Taken up by Forlanini 1995 and N. Özgüç 1996a, cf. also Miller 2001, 82ff., in connection with the evidence of Anum-hirbi of Mamma.

## 2.7. Religion

All data on Old Assyrian religion were collected and analyzed in Hirsch 1972, a treatment which can now be updated thanks to new texts, though the picture drawn remains basically the same. As already mentioned in paragraph 2.5 we now know more of the oath, e.g. that men had to swear it by the dagger of Assur<sup>447</sup> and women by what probably is the tambourine (*huppum*) of Ištar,<sup>448</sup> divine emblems which must have been present in a sacred place, perhaps a cella, called *hamrum*, which was also designated as "the gate of the god", attested both for Assur and for the *kārum*s.<sup>449</sup> To stress that they speak the truth traders frequently invoke gods to act as witnesses and to punish them ("to watch", *naṭālum*; "to take notice of", *idā'um*, or "to reject them", *nadā'um*) if they lie. In such invocations we usually meet Aššur, in the company of other gods, Amurru, Ilabrat, Ištar the Star, Ištar-ZA-AT, and even Nisaba.<sup>450</sup> Some of these gods can be qualified by an apposition as "your god" or "the god of our father(s)", i.e. the family god or personal god of the speaker, but we also meet "your/our god(s)" used independently, and in addition "the god of friendship" and "the god of brotherliness".<sup>451</sup> The invocations of "the god of the father(s)", and occasionally also of "the spirits (*eṭammū*) of the ancestors", were discussed by Van de Toorn in the context of his study on family religion.<sup>452</sup> A recently published arbitral arrangement mentions among the items left behind by a father "golden (figurines of) gods".<sup>453</sup>

Most Assyrian colonies apparently had a shrine or sacred area where Assur was venerated and where (a statue of him with) his weapon was present, but it is usually only mentioned in connection with the swearing of the oath. An exception is the letter addressed by the colony of Uršu (west of the Euphrates, presumably in the area of

<sup>447</sup> *Patrum ša Aššur*, see also Donbaz 2001, but also by his emblem called *šugari'um* (cf. CAD Š/III, 197,b), which also occurs in the dual and is occasionally rendered by the logogram <sup>915</sup>KAK-en.

<sup>448</sup> See Michel 1997c; also kt 86/k 155:3f., 13f. Ištar must be the goddess invoked in kt a/k 244 with the words: "Listen goddess, lady of the oath". Anatolians could also be sent to the water ordeal by their king or judges, see Günbattı 2001.

<sup>449</sup> See Matouš 1974b.

<sup>450</sup> Kt 87/k 460:16ff., Aššur and Nisaba, kt 93/k 198:25ff. (courtesy Michel), "Aššur and Ilabrat, our god(s) (*i-li-ni*) and the spirit of our father", "Aššur, Amurru and the god of Kanesh" (kt m/k 7:18f., courtesy Hecker).

<sup>451</sup> See Hirsch 1972, 35-37, and some additional references in Donbaz-Veenhof 1985, 137. "The god of friendship" also in kt a/k 339:30 and Prag I 784:9, "the two gods of brotherliness (*i-lā a-hu-tim*)" in Prag I 447:11, in all cases in combination with the god Aššur. Aššuritum occurs also, if we read in BIN 6, 99:8f. (with Hirsch 1972, Nachträge 13a, ad S. 22) *dA-šur ú A-šū-ri-tum i-lā[at abini/abba'eni] liṭṭulā*. This goddess, according to Hirsch probably Ištar of Assur, is not identical with *Ištar kakkabum* or Išhara (cf. TC 3, 106:5f., votive gifts to Ištar and Išhara).

<sup>452</sup> K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel*, Leiden-New York, 1996, 62ff. and 72ff. Note on p. 72 note 33 his proposal to take *pirikkum ša Aššur*, by which occasionally oaths were sworn, not as a lion (symbol) or a lightning bolt (*biriqqum*), but as a word for "shrine".

<sup>453</sup> See below in 2.4.2.8; the text has *ilī ša hurāšim ša abiša*.

Gaziantep) to *kārum* Kanesh, in which it reported that thieves had entered Aššur's temple (*bētum*) there and had stolen his sacred paraphernalia, among which the sun disc on his breast and his dagger".<sup>454</sup> We would expect such shrines to have been served by Assyrian priests, but there is thus far no evidence for a cult and the presence of a priestly functionary in the *kārum*.

Little is known of "organized religion" in Assur, where many gods were venerated,<sup>455</sup> but the god Aššur clearly was the dominant deity, with whom the ruler had a special relationship, as also appears from the promise in royal letters to pray (*karābum*) to Assur for the addressees.<sup>456</sup> Traders are encouraged to come to Assur to visit their family and to pay homage to the god Aššur (the texts speak of "to see his eye"). Numerous (eldest?) daughters of prominent traders became priestesses (NIN.DINGIR = *ugbabtum*) presumably of Aššur, but the texts tell us nothing of their cultic duties, and they can perhaps be compared with the *naditus* in Babylonia, who did not belong to the cultic personnel, but were a kind of votaries living near the temple. Dercksen in his "The silver of the gods"<sup>457</sup> analyzed how the temples received votive offerings and (using them?) participated in the trade by making funds (called *ikribū*) available as long-term investments to traders. He assumes that such a trader's "covert obligation to present valuable offerings to the god as a token of gratitude confirmed his status as a respectable member of the community".<sup>458</sup> This system implies that the temples were rich, but in the absence of temple archives we lack data, we do not even have a contract by which a temple made capital available to a trader, either as a commercial loan or in the framework of a commercial partnership.<sup>459</sup> There is some evidence that packets with silver and gold could be stored in temples (especially in that of Aššur), but they were marked with the names of their owners, who apparently reserved the right to take them out again.<sup>460</sup> The archival texts reveal that a few priests (called *kumrum*) played a role in the trade, such as Mannuba, priest of Aššur, who received amounts of silver apparently earned in Anatolia.<sup>461</sup> But this may only mean that he, like other wealthy citizens of Assur, indeed like the rulers themselves, took part in the commerce by entrusting merchandise bought in Assur to traders, who would sell it for him in Anatolia. In CCT 6, 20b rev.:11ff. Ištar-pilah, priest of Aššur, owes 35 shekels of silver to Pūšu-kēn. More interesting is that according to TC 3, 129:9ff. a trader in Assur

<sup>454</sup> SUP 7, discussed in Larsen 1976 262f. A still unpublished text mentions "a chair in front of Aššur" and a "beaker in front of Šarru-mātēn".

<sup>455</sup> *Ikribū* are mentioned of the gods Adad, Aššur, Bēlum, Ilabrat, Išhara, Ninkarrak, Šin, Šamaš, Šarra-mātēn, and Tašmētum, see Dercksen 1998. Kryszat 2003 publishes a very damaged letter by a woman addresses "to my mistress Tašmētum".

<sup>456</sup> The ruler was Aššur's "steward" (*iššiakkum*), but he was not yet designated as the god's SANGA, as was later the case. Which god or temple the *sangūm* Elālī, year eponym 91, served is unknown.

<sup>457</sup> Dercksen 1998, with on 95ff. a list of all gods (temples) which

<sup>458</sup> Votive gifts, not only in the shape of ornaments (notably sun disks and moons), but also little figurines or statuettes (*mazzāzum*), see Dercksen 1998, 84f.

<sup>459</sup> As we know them from Babylonia, cf. the analysis in Veenhof 2004a.

<sup>460</sup> See Dercksen 1998, 86ff., and Hirsch 1972, 49f. on silver and gold belonging or owed to the god Adad, which is an important issue in the correspondence of Sabasia.

<sup>461</sup> One pound of silver in TC 3, 203:6 and 15 shekels, payment for a textile in CCT 6, 27b:4



several times made purchases "in the house of the priest (*kumrum*) of Suen", and that eponym no. 91, Elāli, was a *sangûm*, a title which in contemporary Babylonia denotes the administrative head of a temple.<sup>462</sup> The former reference suggests that this priest in Assur belonged to the owners of "houses", where traders could purchase their merchandise,<sup>463</sup> and a *limum*-eponym, as head of the City Hall, must have been involved in financial administration and the trade. Unfortunately, we do not know whether both acted for, in the name of, or with funds of the temple (that of the moon-god Suen anyhow was not very prominent), or simply as rich citizens.

## 2.8. Society

The text acquaint us with a variety of social features, some of which have already been mentioned above under "institutions" and "law". Most noteworthy are data on the family houses, women, children and slaves. See for people who hired themselves out as personnel (*suhārum*), especially to travel with the caravans as regular transporter or "harnesser" (*kaššārum*) or as "packer" or donkey driver (*sāridum*), Veenhof 1994b.

### 2.8.1. Houses

Houses were important and successful traders usually had two of them, one in Assur and one in a *kārum*, as we know from occasional references and especially from testaments, in which the property is divided.<sup>464</sup> Houses in Assur could be extremely expensive (the highest price mentioned is sixteen pounds of silver for one with a surface of ca. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) and they apparently were a mark of prestige (a woman complains that her family, contrary to others, had not yet built a new house) and were perhaps also considered a good investment. A number of letters mention the sale and purchase of houses, in several cases by people in financial problems who had to satisfy their debtors. Valuable houses could be pledged and we know that unpaid debts to the City Hall or to private creditors could lead to the houses being sealed or "seized" and to appropriation of their contents (especially bronze objects) as security or payment.<sup>465</sup> The loss of one's paternal house, probably with the tombs of the ancestors, was difficult to accept and from one letter<sup>466</sup> we learn that at a certain time, in Assur, an official measure had been taken to facilitate its redemption, "Aššur has now had mercy with his city. A man whose house has been sold has to pay (only) half of the price of his house to (be allowed to) move into it (again). For the remainder (of its price = his debt) terms in three instalments have been set". Unfortunately, the excavations in Assur have not yet revealed what such a prestigious house looked like, but we have two deeds of sale of houses in Assur of the Later Old Assyrian Period.<sup>467</sup>

### 2.8.2. Children

<sup>462</sup> Note that eponym no. 24, Iddin-Aššur, was "the son of the priest".

<sup>463</sup> He must have been a well-known man, since his title was sufficient to identify him, and he may have been the father of "Dadāya, son of the priest of Suen", who occurs several times, especially as transporter.

<sup>464</sup> See for houses and real estate, Michel 1997b.

<sup>465</sup> See Veenhof 1999b, part 1, and Dercksen 2004a, 73f.

<sup>466</sup> Analyzed in Veenhof 1999b.

<sup>467</sup> Gelb-Sollberger 1957 and Donbaz, *NABU* 2001/56, where it measures ca. 18 m<sup>2</sup>.

Children (*šerrum*, collective *šuhrum*)<sup>468</sup> were important, because they could take over their father's "firm", care for their parents in old age, and ultimately bury them and provide what the dead needed. But they might also be pledged or even sold when their father could not pay his debts.<sup>469</sup> Two marriage contracts (ICK 1, 3 and Prag I 490) contain stipulations on the possibility to take a second(ary) wife or use a slave-girl, if the main wife does not bear children within two or three years. Several letters tell us about children raised in Assur, occasionally by their grandparents,<sup>470</sup> while their father (or parents) was in Anatolia.<sup>471</sup> Pūšu-kēn's son, according to CCT 4, 6e, together with other boys was educated as scribe. Girls were married off by their parents, at times apparently on the basis of earlier promises, when they were of age<sup>472</sup> and could then travel to Anatolia. There are also several cases where such a promise or betrothal, presumably due to the problems and strains in a society of traders - many of whom who left Assur, travelled much and lived abroad - was not kept and a verdict was passed to dissolve the agreement. It might entail the payment of a penalty by the party who breached the contract and allowed the parent of a girl to marry her now off to whomever he wished.<sup>473</sup> There are also a relatively (compared with the number of marriage contracts preserved) big number of divorces, which may be explained by the long separation between husband and wife and by the fact that Assyrian traders who had married Anatolian wives in a *kārum*, when they were to return to Assur could divorce them if a fair financial arrangement was made. Contracts of divorce may contain stipulations on who will get the children and on what conditions.<sup>474</sup> The importance of childbirth is underlined by the fact that of the few Old Assyrian incantations found, two are against Lamaštum, the female demon who aimed at pregnant women and babies, and one is to facilitate birth.<sup>475</sup>

### 2.8.3. Women

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<sup>468</sup> See on all aspects Michel 1997d.

<sup>469</sup> That *EL* 8:19f. stipulates the right of an Anatolian father to sell his adopted son if he gets poor, could be a reflex of an Assyrian rule.

<sup>470</sup> Aššur-idī raised his son's children in Assur, presumably after the death of their mother. He was concerned about their well-being, complains about their behavior and how they left him to join their father, and states how much he spent to feed them, see *OAA* 1, 9:50ff., 14:12ff., and 22:24ff. A partner of Aššur-nādā in Assur in *OAA* 1, 94:4ff. also claims payment of expenses he made for his children,

<sup>471</sup> That several texts mention *tarbitum*, "the cost of upbringing", may also be connected with the situation of young children, raised by others, but the term is also used for the compensation for a divorced wife (or her family), who raised a child which its father eventually took along, so in ICK 1, 32:20ff.

<sup>472</sup> See Balkan 1984 and Çecen 1995, 56 no. 4: 5ff. The phrase "when they are placed in the lap of the god Assur" is taken by some to designate their dedication to the deity, in order to become his priestesses, while others consider is a rite to mark the reaching of puberty, as a condition for being married off; see *CAD* S 388, c, 1' and Michel 1997d, 103

<sup>473</sup> See Veenhof 2003d, 451 and Çecen 1995, 56f. nos. 4 and 6.

<sup>474</sup> In *EL* 6 the wife keeps her daughter and the husband can obtain his son after a payment, in *EL* 276 the husband keeps the three children after he has paid his wife the divorce money (*ezibutum*).

<sup>475</sup> See Michel 1997c and 2004a.

More evidence exists on women, both in legal documents dealing with marriage, divorce and inheritance, and in the many letters written by or to women.<sup>476</sup> They concern still unmarried daughters, daughters who did not marry because they became *ugbaltu*-priestesses in Assur, women in Assur married to traders who for long periods lived in Anatolia, women living with their (frequently traveling) husbands in Anatolia, and those who had become widows there, some of which remarried, also with Anatolian husbands. Women in Assur, whose husbands had settled in Anatolia, were their valuable partners in taking care of the household, producing textiles he could sell in Anatolia, and guarding his interests in contacts with the family and with authorities, especially those of the City Hall, who could pressure them for their husband's unpaid debts. But wives living in Anatolia also played an important role, especially when their husband travelled around and they had to guard the house with its contents, especially merchandise and commercial records. While women who lived alone in Assur are well known from the letters they wrote to their husbands, some of those in Anatolia are documented in records that reflect their own, small business transactions. A good example is Lamassatum, the wife of the trader Elamma (whose archive was excavated in 1991/92), according to a description of what she left behind (kt 91/k 421, nearly ten minas of silver, partly in debt-claims of her husband, textiles, ten slaves) a well-to-do woman. She appears as a creditor for modest amounts of silver, copper and wool, and in one of them (kt 91/k 146:21f.) the debtor had to pay back using her own weighing stone. She also assured herself of the services of a man whom she gave a *be'ulātu*-loan, bought a slave-girl and sold a slave, and she several times sent amounts of silver to her daughter Ummi-lšara, who was a *ugbaltu*-priestess in Assur. Some of the relevant records are dated to the period when her husband was still alive, others reflect her activities when she was a widow (who survived her husband a few years), when she was also involved in legal matters related to her husband's inheritance and in problems of some relatives living in Anatolia. Such women apparently had private property and funds at their disposal, which could derive from what they had inherited, from their dowry and marriage gift (*iddinū*), and from income they had generated by producing textiles or doing some business (granting small loans and credit). It does not surprise that they could also make a testament (*šimtum*), by means of which they bequeathed their property to their sons and daughters. While we know that of Lamassatum only by references to and quotations from it, that of her close relative lšar-lamassi (kt 91/k 453), was found in the archive of Elmma.<sup>477</sup>

The case of this lšar-lamassi (which I analyzed in Veenhof 2007a) sheds some light on what an Assyrian woman in Anatolia might experience. After the death of her Assyrian husband, whom she bore two sons and a daughter, she was for ten years married to a second, Anatolian husband. After her death problems arose in connection with the implementation of her testament, which generated a file of ten records, which provide us with some rare pieces of information. Since both of lšar-lamassi's sons died at the same time, her second husband paid for their burial and funerary rites (the texts mention their "bemoaning" (*bikutum*) and what is called "the removal her chair" (*kussiam tabbu'um*) and there were expenses for a meal. He had to be refunded from what the sons would have inherited, apparently because her funeral would have been their filial duty. The settling of the accounts required written specifications of what had been paid and was supervised by lšar-lamassi's close relatives, notably the above mentioned Lamassatum and her son, and the outcome was reported in writing to lšar-lamassi's only surviving heir, her daughter who lived in Assur as *ugbaltu*-priestess.

<sup>476</sup> See CMK ch. 7, with more than hundred letters of women in an annotated translation. See for a new, dramatic letter, Veenhof 2006a.

<sup>477</sup> See Veenhof 2003c, § 6.2.

The most notable feature relating to women was that Assyrian traders who worked or lived abroad could have two wives, one in Assur and one in "the colonies", only one of which could have the formal status of "married wife" (*aššutum*), while the other, who could also an Assyrian or Anatolian girl and was married on the basis of a formal contract, was called *amtum*, "maid". This type of bigamy has recently be analyzed in detail in Michel 2006. The status of *amtum* probably had implication for the hereditary rights of the children and perhaps also for the conditions for a divorce, if the Assyrian trader eventually wished to return to Assur. Such legal complications of course generated a variety of stipulations laid down in marriage contracts.<sup>478</sup>

In general the wives of the frequently absent traders acquired more responsibilities than was the rule in ancient Mesopotamia, which may explain that they could divorce on equal terms with their husbands. The latter in their last wills provided for them by giving them a share in the inheritance, which usually comprised money (occasionally in the form of debt-claims) and a house, and at times the sons were obliged to give them a life-long annual allowance. In a recently published testament a trader, in order to make it very clear that his wife will have full disposal of what she inherits, stipulates that she "is father and mother of her share in the silver", a clause which is a precursor of (and was perhaps the inspiration for) similar ones used several centuries later in Nuzi and Emar.<sup>479</sup> Thanks to these provisions and of what was mentioned above in connection with *Lamssatum*, OA women had their own possessions (money, slaves, jewels, etc.) and this allowed some of them to live independently, in the house their husband had left to them, but there are also cases where the (eldest) son, who inherits the family house, has to take care of his widowed mother and her burial.<sup>480</sup> Fathers usually took care in their testaments to provide well for their widows and especially for unmarried daughters, who had become priestess (*ugbābūm*) and had to be able to live independently. In a recently published record of an arbitral hereditary arrangement, the daughter of an Assyrian, who was a priestess, is granted the right to live with and be provided for in Kanesh by her sister and the latter's Anatolian husband H., who had inherited the paternal house, "just like (as if she were) his mother and wife". If her rights are violated she will receive from H. "the golden (figurines of) the gods of her father", her jewelery, one servant, a slave-girl, a donkey, and all her belongings, and leave for her brothers.<sup>481</sup> But wives of traders could also suffer from the consequences of their husbands' commercial failures,<sup>482</sup> when they had to help them by "scraping together" (*laqātum*) all possessions they had in order pay his debts or to pledge or sell them, or worse, when the house itself was sealed or pledged for their husbands' debts. Pledging wives was rare, but they could be "seized", taken as distress by a creditor, a danger

<sup>478</sup> See the literature on "marriage", mentioned above in § 2.5, and Veenhof 2003c, § 5.1.

<sup>479</sup> See for the testament, Albayrak 2000, with the comments in Michel 2000b.

<sup>480</sup> See for these last aspects, Veenhof 1997a, 137-145.

<sup>481</sup> Albayrak 2004. The clauses are in Assyrian: *kima ummišu ša H. 17 u aššitišu ušbat* <sup>18</sup> *aklat u pašsat* <sup>19</sup> *ištišunu ..... ili (DINGIR-lī) ša hurāšim* <sup>24</sup> *ša abiša šukuttaša....* <sup>28</sup> *ina bēt abiša H. 29 iddaššimma aššēr ahheša* <sup>30</sup> *tušši*. This is a document from the younger level Ib and it reflects the now closer association between Assyrians and Anatolians, but this does not mean that the provisions meant to protect the daughter, who was a priestess, were only a later creation.

<sup>482</sup> See in general Michel 2003ca, "Les femmes et les dettes".

that one might try to prevent by stipulations in the marriage contract.<sup>483</sup> There is a verdict of *kārum* Wahšūšana that stipulates that an Assyrian's wife, retained" (presumably as pledge for his debts) somewhere in Anatolia, has to be provided for by him by means of a monthly allowance of copper that would allow her to buy food, oil and firewood. No wonder that we have several letters in which women, in Assur or Anatolia, in deep sorrow or with indignation, complain about their plight and the fact that they live in "an empty house".<sup>484</sup>

In view of the important role of women in the Old Assyrian society it is surprising that we have very few seal impressions by women, and seals inscribed with the name of their female owner are almost non-existent. There is a seal with the inscription "Rubātum, daughter of Amur-ili" (N. Özgüç 2006, 105, CS 357 on kt n/k 1700), but it is not used by her, but by a certain Usānum, who must have acquired it somehow. The lack of seal impressions is in part explained by the fact that women do not occur as witnesses, who had to seal commercial contracts and judicial records. Women would have to seal contracts and judicial records if they were personally involved as party, as proof of their agreement with a transaction or their acceptance of a liability, but such records are not numerous and their sealed envelopes are frequently missing. We meet several Assyrian women as creditors, who give out small loans or extend credit, but creditors never seal, and Assyrian women as debtors are extremely rare. That women did own seals is clear from the case of the above mentioned Ištar-lamassī, who in her testament (kt 91/k 453) assigns her seal to her daughter in Assur, who may have needed it as *ugbabtu*-priestess, that is an unmarried, economically independent woman. But other women also owned seals and we have and know some from the few preserved envelopes of letters they wrote, which always carry the seal of the sender/writer, e.g. that of Ištar-bašti, impressed on the envelope ICK 1, 28A (see KKS p. 185, seal 130). There are a few records that in listing the seal impressions they carry (KIŠIB PN) mention also a woman's seal, but this does not guaranty that her seal was indeed impressed on the envelope. The envelope of KKS 15, according to which an Assyrian couple owes a silver debt, lists five seal impressions, including KIŠIB *Ištar-lamassī*, but the envelope carries only four different impressions, three of the witnesses and the remaining one must be that of the husband. By impressing his seal his wife was made liable as co-debtor and this was expressed by stating that her seal was present, though she had not actually sealed. This suggests that in more cases the sealing of a record by the husband also bound his wife if she was mentioned as co-debtor and this also happened when Anatolian couples figure as debtors (see Veenhof 2001, 148ff., IV.1, on joint liability). A different case is that of *El* 11, a witnessed record in which the children of Pūšu-kēn, in the wake of the division of their father's inheritance, renounce mutual claims. The record, listing the seal impressions, also mentions (line 9), "the seal of Ahaha, daughter of Pūšu-kēn". While we cannot check its presence, because the record is a copy of an envelope, it is unlikely that her seal was actually impressed, since she lived in Assur as *ugbabtu*-priestess. And this is proved by the fact that the record also mentions (line 5) the seal of Iddin-abum, son of Aššur-mālik and at the end states that he represented Ahaha (*kīma A. izziz*) in the procedure. The words "the seal of PN" apparently may suffice to fix an absent person's liability.

<sup>483</sup> See e.g. the contract Veenhof 1998b, nos. 1b and 1c. *El* no. 2 forbids the husband to sell or pledge (*urrubum*) his wife, presumably a secondary wife or concubine.

<sup>484</sup> See *CMK* ch. 7 and also Michel 1998d, on "les malheurs de Kunnaniya". See for very emotional letters about the estrangement between a man in Assur and his wife in Kanesh, Veenhof 2006a, and Larsen 2001 on the emotions expressed in such letters.

### 2.8.3. Slaves

Old Assyrian people owned slaves, both in Anatolia and in Assur.<sup>485</sup> In Anatolia they could acquire them by purchase or by foreclosure of persons pledged by defaulting debtors, because loans granted to Anatolians were frequently secured pledging the debtor's wife and children.<sup>486</sup> But Assyrian children too, pledged and ultimately sold for their father's debts, could become slaves in Assur, where we even have a reference (kt 93/k 76:32, courtesy Michel) to a man designated as "slave of the City Hall". How many slaves there were and how they may have been employed, when not serving in a family household, is unknown, but the traders were rich and slaves relatively cheap, in particular in Anatolia. They appear in several testaments as "slaves and slave-girls" and as the collective *subrum*,<sup>487</sup> and there are quite a number of slave-sales and references to them in letters.<sup>488</sup> Note that even Lamassatum, the widow of the trader Elamma, owned five slaves and five slave-girls (kt 91/k 421:23ff.), and that in the division worked out in *EL* 287 one son will obtain one slave-girl as his concubine(?) and three other sons each one of the slave-girls with whom they have had sexual contacts (*lamādum*), together with their offspring (*lillidum*).<sup>489</sup> Slaves can be claimed or seized as security for a debt,<sup>490</sup> and when slaves alone are pledged (*erubbātum*), we may assume that they served as possessory, antichretic pledges, who "were held by the silver (owed)" (*išti kaspim uktallū*) and had to work off the interest on the debt.<sup>491</sup> We have to assume that slaves, in particular in Assur, also worked as servants, who could be used to ship goods<sup>492</sup> and even be hired out to work as caravan personnel, in which case their owner received the traditional interest-free loan (*be'ulātum*) that counted as wages.<sup>493</sup> A special investigation on slavery in the OA sources would be very welcome.

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<sup>485</sup> We lack a systematic investigation of Old Assyrian slavery. See for slave sales Kienast 1984, with Exkurs 2 and 3 on occurrences outside sale contracts, and for new contracts Sever 1998a and Bayram-Çeçen 1996, and for an overview Veenhof 2003c, § 4.2, with § 7.1.4 on redemption. In Exkurs 2, Kienast in too many cases assumes a meaning "servant, subject", though this meaning might obtain in the unique occurrence of a "wardum of the palace", in KTS 55b:2f., since in the Mesopotamian view a citizen was a *wardum* of his king.

<sup>486</sup> In *EL* 188 an Anatolian family, handed over ("given") to an Assyrian creditor by the local ruler, is redeemed by their guarantor, an Anatolian official.

<sup>487</sup> In Garelli 1966, 134 lines 12, 20, 41; Prag I 705:3; VS 26, 132:11ff., "the rest of the *subrum*, two slave-girls, a boy and a girl, I left to P."; and CCT 3, 27b:4ff. "I had six *ṣuhārū* brought to you ... take action, sell my *subrum*...".

<sup>488</sup> See also the short note TC 3, 183, which mentions wool, textiles and sheep, "the price of four slave-girls and nine youngsters" (*ṣuhrum*).

<sup>489</sup> See for slaves as part of a person's assets also Kienast 1984, 96 2e

<sup>490</sup> The verbs used are *qātam šakānum ina* and *kattu'um*; note TC 3, 60:18ff., "Since he has no slave-girl or slave in Kanesh ..... take his slave-girl and slave (over there) as security (*katā'um*) and so collect the silver". In Assur the eponym as head of the City Hall could do this with a debtor's slaves, see Kienast 1984, 98f. nos. 2s-2v.

<sup>491</sup> See Veenhof 2001, 132ff.

<sup>492</sup> See the examples in Kienast 1984, 91 nos. 2h and 2i.

<sup>493</sup> See Kienast 1984, 93 no. 3g

## 2.9. LANGUAGE AND WRITING

Knowledge of the somewhat archaic Old Assyrian dialect, its grammar and lexicon, and especially of the idiom and the commercial jargon have presented problems and make many assyriologists still feel ill at ease with Old Assyrian.<sup>494</sup> This is in part due to the use of a limited syllabary and a series of orthographic rules that exhibit a measure of variation, which makes it at times difficult to reconstruct the underlying phonetic realities. This is at times compounded by the fact that not all writers were professional scribes, so that individual idiosyncrasies occur. Old Assyrian grammar is well presented in K. Hecker's *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte*<sup>495</sup> of 1968 (*GKT*), although his consistent use of syllabic transliterations instead of bound transcriptions and the lack of verbal paradigms present problems. After so many years and which so many new sources additions and corrections are of course possible.<sup>496</sup>

Old Assyrian writing uses a relatively modest number of cuneiform signs and a limited number of logograms, which makes it decipherment easy, but the limitations of the syllabary and the not always strictly applied orthographic conventions, require a well considered choice between possible alternative phonetic values and readings, on the basis of grammatical and lexicographical facts, for reconstructing the phonetic and morphological facts. E.g., TU is not used and DU can render /du/, /tu/, and /tu/, the distinction between /e/ and /i/ is poor, doubled consonants and in most cases also long vowels are not indicated, the rules for marking syllable boundaries (broken spellings) and "alpeh-signs" are not very strict, while the Assyrian "vowel harmony" (which affects short *a* in open syllables) also complicates the picture. Convincing solutions and interpretations depend on a systematic approach, which also pays careful attention to syntactic features, as is shown by several recent studies of Kouwenberg.<sup>497</sup>

OA writing also exhibits certain developments over time and Larsen 1976, 114 with note 109 (dealing with the early royal inscriptions), already showed that some of the typical Old Assyrian writing conventions (notably in the choice of syllabograms) are the result of a development, which seems to have been completed only during the reign of Erišum I. Veenhof 2003, 12f., in analyzing the spelling variants in the manuscripts of the

<sup>494</sup> See Reiner 2001, "Who is afraid of Old Assyrian?".

<sup>495</sup> The title is correct in so far as the grammar is based on the texts found at Kültepe. Since numerous texts from which data are used originate from Assur and there is no reason to assume a difference between the language spoken in Assur and in *kārum* Kanesh, the title could simply have been "Old Assyrian Grammar". In that case, however, the data from the older royal inscriptions, should have been treated separately because of their peculiarities (see above note 14)

<sup>496</sup> See AOAT 492f., Index, 3. Grammatical Features; Hirsch 1972 (review of *GKT*), 2001 (use of ventive); Hecker 2000 (*i* in construct state), 2001a (dental explosives, use of DA and TA); Matouš 1972 (OA dialect); Michel 1992 and 1998 (fractions and numbers); Reiner 2001 (general); Veenhof 1986c (auxiliary verbs).

<sup>497</sup> Kouwenberg 200 3 (glottalized consonants), 2004a (first weak verbs), 2004b (N-stem), also Edzard 2001 (syllable closing alpeh), Kouwenberg's study of the stative (*OrNS* 69 [2000] 21-71) and his dissertation, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb* (Assen 1997), also pay much attention to Old Assyrian, as do his recent studies on "Ventive, Dative and Allatives in Old Babylonian" (*ZA* 92 [2002] 200-240), and "Reflections on the Gt-stem in Akkadian" (*ZA* 95 [2005] 77-103).

Kültepe eponym list (KEL) could show that the oldest part of the list (covering the first ca. 60 eponyms), as preserved in KEL A, was based on a manuscript in an orthography which was "conservative" in its preference for certain syllabograms and logograms, e.g. in using AB<sub>1</sub>, LA<sub>1</sub>, MI<sub>1</sub> (extremely rare instead of ME), A-šūr, 𐎶EN.ZU and PUZUR<sub>2</sub>). In addition, it now becomes possible to distinguish paleographically early texts, such as the oldest dated (to eponymy year 47) contract CCT 1 10a (*EL* no. 97), with its envelope CCT 6, 23c (see now Kryszat 2001, 263f., and Veenhof 2003, 39, no. 47a).

The OA lexicon is well covered in *AHW* and especially in *CAD*, which could use transliterations of the "old" texts made by Julius Lewy and for its first volumes the expertise of Landsberger. Several specialists in Old Assyrian (Kienast, Hirsch, Larsen, Veenhof) later contributed transliterations, wrote entries or acted as consultants of the *CAD*. But here too corrections and additions are possible from new sources and new interpretations, for which one may consult the lexical indexes added to most new text editions and to several monographs.<sup>498</sup> Together they reveal that Old Assyrian comprises quite a number of words not attested in other periods of the Akkadian language. Some reflect the peculiarities of the Old Assyrian dialect, others are the names of a variety of products, including textiles and food-stuffs, conditioned by the Anatolian setting of the transactions, others again belong to the commercial jargon. The latter comprises both a fair amount of idiom and many technical terms in the sphere of administration, law, trade and finance, in which the Assyrian speakers and scribes demonstrated a measure of linguistic creativity by introducing new words or using derivatives from at times well-known verbal or nominal roots in specialized, new meanings. The development must have been due to the fact that they had to describe in detail (perhaps the first to do so) their commercial transactions and financial operations, both in the letters exchanged between Assur and Anatolia and in their administrative and judicial records. The study of the texts inevitably also resulted in a variety of articles and notes with lexical observations, dealing with idiom, technical terminology (mentioned above under II.2.4 and 5), and material culture, and new texts keep acquainting us with interesting new lexical data. Only the more important ones found in the recent literature are mentioned here,<sup>499</sup> but nearly all are digested in "Register Assyriologie. 2. Wörter", which appears regularly in *AfO*.

To gain a better insight into the lexical aspects of Old Assyrian, Kogan (2006), in a pioneering article, carried out a lexical comparison between Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian, in which he distinguished lexemes attested exclusively or pre-dominantly in Assyrian, common Akkadian lexemes with special prominence in Assyrian, common Akkadian lexemes with specific meaning in Assyrian, and derived stems unattested or

<sup>498</sup> See especially those added to Michel *CMK*, Dercksen 1996 (copper trade), and 2004a (institutions),

<sup>499</sup> Balkan 1957, 9-30 (on the language of the Anum-hirbi letter), 1967 (idiom), 1969 (wagons and ploughs), 1986 (*ushi'um*), Bayram 1990 (seasonal due dates), Dercksen 1998 (*ikribū*), 1999 (terms for types of loans and credit), 2004b (*arhālum*, *unuššum*, *tuzinnum*, *ubadinnum*), Donbaz 1989 (terms for bread), Donbaz-Veenhof 1985 (*nabritum*, *nam'udum*, *šulušā'um*, *ubādinnum*), Hecker 1978 (family relationship), Hofferner 1996 (*kumrum*, *epattum*), Larsen 1967 (slander), 1977a (*naruqqum*, *šipkātum*, *šelu'utum*), Lion-Michel 2001 (*erbi tāmtim*, shrimps), Michel 1992b (*šēpum*, *ellutum*), 1997a (drink and food), 1997c (*huppum*), 2001a (*husārum*, lapis lazuli), 2003b (*perdum*, mule), Sturm 1995a (*kaspum ammurum*), Veenhof 1987a (*balātum*, *muātum*), 1989 (*perdum*, *šinahilum*, *sikkātum*), 1995a (*naruā'um*, *kuānum*, *awātum*), 1995c (*išurtum*), 1997a, 150 (*iddinū*), 1997b (*tamkārum*, *wābil tuppim*), 1999b (*uṭuptum*, *išittum*), 2003b (*māhirum*, *hāmum*).



having a different meaning in Babylonian, and in addition treats a number of "minor lexical features" and "fixed expressions". He considers it important that "some terms of the Old Assyrian lexicon, while apparently of commercial nature, survived into Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods", since this "testifies to their being deeply rooted in the Assyrian dialectal vocabulary".

Linguistic analysis of the Old Assyrian personal names also contributes to the understanding of the language and the lexicon. Most personal names exhibit a mixed logographic-syllabic writing, which is generally understandable, but the orthography and the limited syllabic repertoire may cause problems.<sup>500</sup> Various spellings reflect the actual pronunciation, which is linguistically interesting and may provide clues for rules of contraction, vowel elision and stress.<sup>501</sup>

## 2.10. SEALS AND SEALING

Reconstruction of the commercial activities is impossible without knowing "who is who", which requires collections of names and of the numerous seal impressions. Since most seals have no inscription, they have to be identified from their occurrence on inscribed envelopes. While this is simple with letter envelopes, where the seal is that of its writer, those on legal documents present more problems.<sup>502</sup> The accompanying text that lists them ("Seal of A, son of B", etc.), is not a real biscript ("Siegelvermerk") as on Old Babylonian legal documents and the order of the seal impressions does not always match that of the text.<sup>503</sup> By comparison and elimination many owners/users can be identified,<sup>504</sup> and several articles try to do this for particular seals.<sup>505</sup>

Already in 1927 the standard for text publications was set by A.T. Clay with BIN 4, which includes indexes of names and photographs of seal impressions. In his wake text editions with drawings or photos of seals gradually became the norm,<sup>506</sup> and in CCT 6 (of 1975) D. Collon made up for this omission in earlier volumes of the British

<sup>500</sup> Does *i-DĪ* render *idi*, "my arm, support", *iddi*, "he deposited", *idē*, "he knows", or *iddin*, "he gave"?

<sup>501</sup> Note spellings like A-DĪ-*lā-at* for Adad-ellat, also written dIM-ILLAT; Šāl-*mah* for Šalim-ahum (note the remarks in Balkan 1974, 37 ad 1A, where also the forms Šalimmuh and Šalmuh, used by Anatolian with this Assyrian name, are mentioned); ŠĒ-BA-*lim* for Šēp-alim; TA-BE-A-*šur* for Tāb-pī-Aššur, etc.

<sup>502</sup> Apart from the fact that the user of a seal is not always its owner, and occasionally the inscription on an inherited seal was not (immediately) adapted, see Teissier 1994, ch. 6. The *laputtā'um* official Hupitum on the envelope of a letter written by him, used the inscribed seal of another *laputtā'um* (his predecessor?), Šu-Anum, son of Amur-ili, as shown on Özgüç 2003, 292, ill. 341, cf. Dercksen 2004a, 67f. Note also the use of the seal of the *iššiakkum* ilulu by a later namesake, Šilulu, son of Uku, mentioned below in III.1.2.

<sup>503</sup> See the observations in Veenhof 1987c, and for some examples Teissier 1994, 12.

<sup>504</sup> See for the method used VS 26, 54f.

<sup>505</sup> Garelli 1993, Hirsch 1971, Larsen 1977b (seal use), Larsen-Møller 1991, Matouš 1974a, 1977, 1982a, Sturm 1999a, Waetzoldt 1990. See also N. Özgüç 1996a, and 1996b (on the seal of Adad-ellat), and Veenhof 1993, 650 with pl. 128 (seal of the City Hall in Assur).

<sup>506</sup> Texts with seal impressions in Prague were even published in a separate volume, KKS.

Museum series. Some recent editions (e.g. Kienast ATHE) present the seal impressions by means of photographs, but good drawings (as in CTMMA 1, KKS and VS 26) in general are more helpful. Many seal impressions on excavated envelopes are shown in the excavation report of 1953 and in monographs and articles by Nimet Özgüç,<sup>507</sup> but it is unfortunate that the first editions of officially excavated texts (AKT 1-3 and TPAK) do not contain them. The publication of all sealed (and inscribed) bullae in Özgüç-Tunca 2001, with information on their archival provenience, is a valuable addition, but for a prosopographic purpose the seal impressions have to be studied in combination with the texts from the same archives, which will allow more identifications.<sup>508</sup> N. Özgüç 1965a, 1968 and 2006 valuable publications and descriptions of large numbers of seals, but most of the inscribed envelopes on which they figure unfortunately are still unopened and unpublished, so that the owners/users of many seals remain unknown and in many cases we cannot date the seal impressions more accurately or connect the quality and iconography of the seal with the status and role played by the person who owned it. Still, N. Özgüç 2006, which publishes and analyzes more than 600 seal impressions, mainly from archives excavated in 1951 (kt d/k; 43 texts of the Anatolian Peruwa), and 1962 (kt n/k, mainly between numbers 1700 and 2093; the archive of Ušur-ša-lštar) is a step forward thanks to the efforts of A. Karaduman, who read the seal inscriptions and also identified a few dozen of their owners/users from the texts written on the envelopes. For the time being, alongside Özgüç-Tunca 2001, Teissier 1994, with drawings of 677 seals, lists of their occurrences on texts, and indexes of names, is the best tool for the epigraphist.

Texts from *kārum* Kanesh are not only a rich source of seal impressions, they also contain a lot of data on seals and their use. They inform us on the stones they were made of,<sup>509</sup> how they were inherited and transferred, and how they were used. Ištar-lamassi in her testament (kt 91/ 453:11f.) assigned her lapis-lazuli seal to her daughter, a priestess in Assur, and in a conflict between two brothers about the inheritance of their father, the latter's lapis-lazuli seal, given to one of them in order to deliver it to his sister in Assur, plays an important role (Hecker 2004, 291f.). Seals were valuable and a seal in wrong hands was dangerous, as is clear from the existence from the Old Babylonian period of a few records in which the loss of somebody's seal is publicly announced. Transfer of a seal was a formal act and in CCT 5, 9a:26f. contains the testimony on how a man on his deathbed "loosened his seal from his girdle and gave it to me" in the presence of two witnesses.<sup>510</sup> CTMMA 1, 84:50ff. mentions that a man's strong-room contained "one seal of I., son of A, which, while he was still alive, four principals put under seal and entrusted to me".<sup>511</sup>

Seals were impressed for a variety of purposes and the general aspects of sealing were first discussed in Larsen 1977. During the level II period all seal impressions are on the clay envelopes in which the tablets were encased; sealing of tablets begins during the

<sup>507</sup> See Özgüç 1953a (report on the excavations of 1949) pl. LIX-LXV and Özgüç 2003, 282-311, N. Özgüç 1965a, 1968 and 2006, and her many articles listed in Michel 2003c, 191f.

<sup>508</sup> Larsen in OAA 1, XXIXf. shows the seals of four main persons of the Aššur-nādā archive.

<sup>509</sup> See e.g. Michel 2001a, 354ff. on seals of lapis lazuli. Most seals were made of haematite, cf. kt c/k 441:3, *kunukkam ša šaduānim*.

<sup>510</sup> *kunukkušu H. 27 ina qablišu ipturma 28 iddinam*.

<sup>511</sup> On the assumption that *kunukkum* indeed means a cylinder seal and not a sealed record, as is occasionally the case in OA, cf. KTS 2, 45:4f., *PN kunuk rubā'im ilqe'akkum*, "PN obtained for you a document sealed by the ruler".

level Ib period. Those on envelopes of letters identify their writers and those on the envelopes of legal documents were applied by parties, witnesses and others who assumed an obligation or confirmed the correctness of statements made, verdicts pronounced, or facts established. Encasing such a document with a sealed envelope turned it into what was called *tuppum harmum*,<sup>512</sup> a valid, sealed record with evidentiary value, see Larsen 1977. The corresponding verb *harāmum*, "to encase in an envelope, to turn into a valid record", is very frequent and used in abbreviated formulations, such as *šibē harāmum*, "to draw up valid deposition of the testimony of witnesses", short for *tuppam ša šibē harāmum*.<sup>513</sup>

Sealings, usually in the form of clay bullae in various shapes,<sup>514</sup> on which the seal was impressed and which offered room for a few lines of text, served many purposes. They could be applied to safeguard and identify items (textiles,<sup>515</sup> packets with merchandise, silver and gold, or tablets) that had to be stored<sup>516</sup> or shipped, but also to seal houses, strong-rooms (named *maknukum*, "sealed room") and containers in which valuables were kept. AOATT 30ff. and 41ff. analyzed the sealing of packets of tin and bags with textiles, and Teissier 1994, as the title of her book indicates, also studied the sealing practices and seal ownership (chapters 3, 4 and 6).<sup>517</sup> Dercksen 2004a, 90ff. examined the meaning of the frequently mentioned "seals of the City" (*kunukkū ša ālim*), applied to merchandise shipped. He concluded that this expression does not mean the application of an official seal<sup>518</sup> by the city authorities as proof of clearance for export (by payment of the export tax, *wašitum*). Apparently the packets or containers with merchandise had been sealed on departure from Assur by their owners or those entrusting them for transport, so that they could not be opened en route<sup>519</sup> and their contents were safeguarded against fraud.

A seal impression alone was not always sufficient, probably because most seals were without inscription and identifying their owners was at times difficult, as we can experience when studying the numerous, rather similar OA seals, but of course, relatives and partners knew each other's seals. In the deposition ICK 1, 153 people tell: "We

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<sup>512</sup> Similar to OB *ermum* (CAD E 302, s.v., 1,a), but also written *hirmum*, CT 48, 15:12, *tuppum sehšum hirmum*.

<sup>513</sup> In OA one could say that witnesses who had impressed their seals on a record "are lying on the tablet" (*ina tuppim nālū*), cf. TPAK 109 rev. 3(!), or that they "had sealed for testimony" (*aššibūtīm kankū*), see TPAK 120:4.

<sup>514</sup> See for the variety in shapes, usually conditioned by their purpose (labels attached by means of strings, stopper of jar, sealing pressed on a basket, etc.), Özgüç-Tunca 2001, 134ff.

<sup>515</sup> Seals were applied to the hem (*sissiktum*) of textiles, to identify their owner, see AOATT 43f.

<sup>516</sup> Also in a temple, as in TC 3, 68:19ff. (see AOATT 43), where a man is ordered to bring a packet (*riksum*) with gold into the temple of Aššur. "Ask the priest for the leather bag which contains the packets with my seals, then inspect my seals and break them and place the packet with gold in the ....., apply sealings and mark the front (*pānum*) of the sealing with my name".

<sup>517</sup> Subjects discussed are second hand seals, borrowing and entrusting, ownership, nationality and status, and women and seals. Note also Kryszat 2004b on the use of the seals of the rulers of Assur.

<sup>518</sup> Such as the seal inscribed with the words "Seal of Aššur, of the *nishatu*-tax, of the City Hall", shown on his p. 91.

<sup>519</sup> See for texts warning against opening packets of tin (*šuqlum*) by breaking their seals, AOATT 30ff.

entered (the house) and identified the seals (on a bag with textiles) and they are indeed Imdilum's seals!" On the clay of bullae the name of the owner (or user) could be "indicated, marked" (*šumam waddu'um*) alongside the seal impression. Several texts deal with the problem of identifying the owner of a seal impressed on a legal document which turned up in the archive of a dead trader and whose validity was contested. In *El* 293 a son identifies the seal of his father on a debt-note and because its presence in the creditor's archive normally implies that the debt had not yet been paid, he has to provide witnesses to the contrary.<sup>520</sup> A verdict of the City (kt n/k 147, courtesy S. Bayram) authorizes a man to lead the wife and son of a dead trader to the gate of the god in order to identify the latter's seal on a text, and in kt 89/k 279:9-12 (courtesy Y. Kawasaki) a man who denies a debt is told by his creditor: "I hold you because of your tablet for identifying your seal (impression)."<sup>521</sup> In the case of a disputed debt-note, sealed by two witnesses, it is agreed that if one of them "has identified (*waddu'um*) his seal impressions by saying: "They are mine", the debtor will pay (kt a/k 264:6ff.).

Breaking somebody's seals was a formal act, which required a permit, e.g. in cases where special committees are authorized to break the seals on a dead trader's strong-room in order to take out certain tablets or goods they are entitled to.<sup>522</sup> Broken sealings are tangible evidence of such an action and the writers of ICK 1, 149 tell a man, whose seals on a packet with silver they have broken (*šarāmum*), "We sent you your sealings which we broke".<sup>523</sup> In the official letter TPAK 44a (CMK 27a)<sup>524</sup> *kārum* Kanesh asks *kārum* Durhumit to produce a number of records which are "in *kārum* Durhumit (in containers) sealed by the seal of the *kārum*", to break (*šarāmum*) those seals and take cognizance of the tablets and send the relevant records, "placing the seals which you are breaking inside", under your seals to *kārum* Kanesh.

## 2.11. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL NAMES

To understand the trade, the constitution of the family firms, the patterns of partnership, investment, commission, and credit, it is essential to know who is who. This requires a full collection of the thousands of occurrences of personal names, with their patronymics, in particular in dated texts, preferably together with their identified or identifiable seal impressions. But many persons in letters are not identified by patronymic, and while

<sup>520</sup> He (or somebody representing him) might have paid cash, or against a quittance, without yet having exchanged the latter for the debt-note, to cancel both.

<sup>521</sup> *ana tuppim ana kunukkika uddu'em ukalka*.

<sup>522</sup> E.g. in CCT 5, 3a: 27ff., where people had opened Elamma's sealed strongroom, saying: "We act under the orders and responsibility of the principals". The report continues with "When they had opened the strong-room they brought five persons, outsiders, into the house and had them apply their seals (on the door) and they applied their own seals together with them".

<sup>523</sup> In all such cases the texts simply write *kunukkum*. OA knows the special term for "sealing", *šipassum*, but it is very rare; it is used in TC 1, 30:10 for sealings placed on the doors and windows of a house. In TPAK 7:4f. we meet the expression *piṭrāt tuppim*, "the broken pieces of the (opened) tablet".

<sup>524</sup> A photo of the obverse of the envelope in Dercksen 2004a, 244, and photos of the eight different seal impressions of those who act for the *kārum* in Özgüç-Tunca 2001, pls. I-K.

some traders, fortunately, have rare or even unique names (Imdīlum, Pūšu-kēn, Elamma), most have many namesakes, which is particularly nasty in the "old texts", whose archival provenience is not known. In such cases identification requires the analysis of the commercial or family context in which a trader operates, which means drawing up lists of his correspondents, debtors, partners, investors, transporters, and the people who belong to his family or who confront him in lawsuits. Usually, however, problems remain, and in his recent edition of the dossier of Aššur-nādā and his father, Aššur-idī, Larsen writes: "[T]he reconstruction of the family of Aššur-idī is seriously hampered by the unfortunate fact that all the central persons in this group had extremely common names. For the name Aššur-idī we have 23 different patronymics attested; 22 are known for Aššur-nādā; 26 different patronymics are attested for Aššur-taklāku, whereas we have "only" twelve for Ili-ālum" (the last three are sons of Aššur-idī).<sup>525</sup> Michel 1991d met similar problems with people named Innāya, and with traders called Puzur-Aššur or Aššur-mālik (with more than sixty namesakes) they are even worse. At times the problems are aggravated by the use of abbreviated names (Ikuppia for Ikuppi-lštar, Ikua for Ikūnum or Ikūn-pī-DN, etc.) and occasionally even nicknames.<sup>526</sup> Not surprisingly, the Assyrians themselves at times wanted to make clear which person was meant, for which they used several devices.<sup>527</sup> Some persons are identified by their profession,<sup>528</sup> others apparently had such common names and probably namesakes within the family of firm that, with omission of their personal name, they were designated as "son of PN" or as "our PN" (PN *niā'um*).<sup>529</sup> Others again were identified by mentioning the town from where they originated or where they lived, the latter no doubt when the commercial network had expanded and members of firms had settled more or less permanently in various colonies.<sup>530</sup> Similar strategies were also used in the eponym list, where we have eponyms designated as *hapīrum* (no. 40), *ša*

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<sup>525</sup> Larsen 2002, XIX.

<sup>526</sup> Derksen 1996, 96, suggests that Šu-Anum, the father of Adad-sulūlī, was also called Kuskusum. See for examples of nicknames, Veenhof 2003, 26f., PN *sakkukum*, "the deaf one", *šallānum*, "the black one", and *tu'imum*, "the twin".

<sup>527</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 25ff.

<sup>528</sup> People designated as priest (*kumrum*) of a particular god, e.g. "Mannuba, priest of Assur" (this happened regularly in Anatolian records, especially during the level Ib period, see VI.1.2.4); as "lieutenant" (*laputtā'um*), interpreter (*targumannum*, Aššur-mālik in AKT 3, 30:19f., lštar-pilah, *ta-ar-gu-me-a-nim* in kt 92/k 194:40), as "scribe" (*tuṣšarrum*, passim), *malahum*, "boatman", *nappāhum*, "blacksmith", *sābium*, "brewer" etc. Also participles used as professional designations, such as (see CAD M/II for references) *mupazzirum*, "smuggler", *mušāridum*, *muštaqqitum* (also TPAK 116:7), and *muštēbilum* (also VS 26, 10:21). In addition we have designations of the type *ša tabtim*, "salt dealer" (kt 86/k 153A:4). Women too occasionally identified in this way, note PN *sabitum*, "tavern keeper" (KBo 9, 10:4), and PN *šabsūtum*, "midwife" (TC 3, 219:9).

<sup>529</sup> Never confused with *nuā'um*, "native", "Anatolian", pace V. Donbaz NABU 1995/113.

<sup>530</sup> This was regularly done by writing PN *ša* GN, but in some cases nisbes were used, e.g. PN *Hawilium*, "from Hawil(a)" (Nashef 1991, 58, twice of Aššur-ṭāb, also Ili-bāni in AKT 3, 61:27), *Tadmurium* (Nashef 1991, 11, note also kt 86/k 168:5, "Pilah-Adad, son of the man from Tadmur"); Aššur-ṭāb *Šimalāijum*, TTC 9:16; Alāhum *Uššāium*, CCT 6, 46b:24f.; etc.

*kakkē*, "the man of the weapons", *ša i.NUN*, "the man who trades in ghee" (no. 25), and even *tamkārūm* (no. 128).<sup>531</sup> Dated occurrences are helpful to map a person's career and to know who were his contemporaries.

Kryszat also tries to derive clues from the writing, paleography and sign use, since there are differences related to time, perhaps also due to the scribal tradition within a family or archive.<sup>532</sup> With a growing number of digital photos of original tablets becoming available, paleographic studies can become a means of distinguishing older and younger texts, and also different hands, both of professional scribes and of traders who had learned how to write. Distinctive criteria are the style of the writing (slanting or more upright, more or less cursive), features such as the use of the word dividing wedge or the "Personenkeil", and the preferences for certain signs (in cases where there are options). Kryszat 2004b applied such criteria in an attempt to determine which ruler of Assur had written a letter in which he only figures as (anonymous) *waklum*. In his analysis of the spelling in the main manuscript of the eponym list (KEL A), Veenhof 2003, 12f., could show that the source for the oldest part of the list used a more conservative orthography (see above § 2.9).

Early text publications, such as CCT 1-4 (1921-1927), did not yet contain indexes of names, but A.T. Clay's BIN 4 (1927) set the example and indexes slowly became the norm, although TCL 14 and 19-21 (1928-1937), by F. Thureau-Dangin and J. Lewy, did not yet include them. The first systematic collection of personal names was Stephens 1928, and much later Hirsch 1961 listed and discussed all theophorous names,<sup>533</sup> while Gwaltney 1977 presented a names index on *EL*. The enormous increase of texts now calls for a comprehensive list, which is being prepared by J.G. Dercksen and may also serve as a basis for more detailed prosopographic studies of the main traders and their families. The eponym list can now help to find out which years a trader's career spanned, when he served as year- or week-eponym<sup>534</sup>, when he first appeared in the sources, when he took over (when his father died or returned to Assur), and when he himself vanished from the sources.<sup>535</sup> This has been done for a number of important traders in Kryszat 2004a, ch. 2,<sup>536</sup> and he also compiled a (still unpublished) list of all occurrences of persons in dated texts.

Prosopographic studies have been undertaken for quite some time,<sup>537</sup> and some also offer genealogies. Good examples are Ichisar 1982 and Larsen 1982a, on the archive of Imdilum, Michel 1991d on the Innāya texts, and more recently Michel 1997 on Šumi-

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<sup>531</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 25ff.

<sup>532</sup> See Kryszat 2004a, 19f., 30 and 32. Veenhof 2003, 11f. also noted scribal differences between the various manuscripts of the eponym list and assumed an older source for the first ca. sixty eponyms identifiable by their preference for certain syllabograms and by more logographic spellings in the names of persons and gods.

<sup>533</sup> See now also Eidem 2004.

<sup>534</sup> But there are many dating by week-eponym which do not mention the year-eponym.

<sup>535</sup> Several texts mention that a trader "unfortunately" (*la libbi ilim*) has died. Deaths are also reflected in last wills and in agreements on and legal fights about inheritance matters.

<sup>536</sup> In some cases we know the year of their death, if problems with the division of an inheritance had generated dated records or records which mention when the death had occurred (e.g. kt m/k 69:45. cf. Hecker 2004; kt 91/k 420:18f., refers to the death of Elamma).

<sup>537</sup> *EL* and the various articles by Julius Lewy contain many prosopographic data.

abiya and Aššur-mutappil, Larsen 2002 on the family of Aššur-idi, and Kryszat 2004a on various traders and their families, in particular on Pūšu-kēn (pp. 40-50, with genealogy). Dercksen 1996, ch. 4, studied some important merchants engaged in the copper trade,<sup>538</sup> and Dercksen 2001a the main persons of the texts from Amkuwa and Hattuš (Nabi-Enlil, Iddin-Kūbum and Dāya). Kryszat 2004a also collected data on the better-known year eponyms, several of which were also active in the trade and therefore occur in archival texts.<sup>539</sup> In addition a number of articles investigates particular persons or families, at times in considerable detail.<sup>540</sup>

Of most families of traders three generations are attested in the sources, occasionally four, in which case the first generation usually only appears in patronymics. The evidence of course depends on the size and completeness of reconstructed or excavated archives and, as noted above, the early period (before eponymies 75-80) and the last two decades of level II are usually poorly attested. As an example I mention the case of Pūšu-kēn, son of Suejja<sup>541</sup> who is attested in texts dated between years 78 and 98, followed by his son Buzāzu, attested between years 100 and 111, while the latter's son Pūšu-kēn, called after his grandfather, occurs a few times in undated, but apparently late texts,<sup>542</sup> which is also the case with his second son, Aššur-iddin.

A special issue are the hundreds of names of Anatolians, which occur in texts of the Assyrians and in those of their own archives. Many remain just names, but several have regular commercial contacts with Assyrian traders, at times within the framework of a marriage between two families, or act as dealers and money-lenders within the Anatolian community. Of some we know the profession or function, especially of the numerous persons with a title of the type *rabi* + noun and of those qualified as priest of a particular god, which are especially numerous in the Anatolian texts of the younger level Ib (see below VI.1.1). Linguistic analysis of their names<sup>543</sup> also allows to determine their ethnicity and provides a picture of the composition of the early population of Anatolia. The first to do so systematically<sup>544</sup> was Garelli 1963, part 1, ch. 3, "Les

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<sup>538</sup> Adad-šululi, Alāhum, Imdilum, Puzur-Aššur, and Ušur-ša-lštar, some of them were also studied in Kryszat 2004a.

<sup>539</sup> See also Larsen 1976, part 3, chapters 4 and 5, and Dercksen 2004a, 56ff.

<sup>540</sup> Kryszat 2001 (Iddin-lštar), Matouš 1969 (Puzur-Aššur), Michel 1994 (Hurašānum), 1998d (Kunaniya), Sturm 2000 (Būšija, Idnāja), 2001 (Puzur-Anna, the blacksmith).

<sup>541</sup> See Kryszat 2004a, 40-50, with genealogy on p. 44. Suejja (to be distinguished from Pūšu-kēn's eldest son, named after his grandfather) himself is not active and only occurs as patronymic. We cannot identify him with Šu-Suen, son of Buzāzu, who occurs as transporter in CCT 2, 4a:9, a letter sent from Assur to our Pūšu-kēn. While Suejja might be abbreviated from Šu-Suen, it is difficult to assume that the father of an important trader worked as transporter. Lines 28ff., "when he arrives (in Kanesh) he must give you (back) 12 1/2 shekels of silver, his service loan, and then he can go where he wishes", moreover, would mean that Suejja was in the service of his son or the latter's partner, which is impossible.

<sup>542</sup> Also in kt 92/k 194:2, from the archive of Kuliya, where he is staying in Kuburnat.

<sup>543</sup> Which has to take into account the features of OA orthography and spelling variations, see *GKT* §§ 8c, 9b, 12, 15b, 17b, 19h, 25, and 27e.

<sup>544</sup> He had some precursors, notably A. Goetze, in various studies listed in Michel 2003c, 164.

populations en présence", who dealt with Hittites and Luwians (and how to distinguish them), the (Proto-)Hattic population, and the Hurrians. He also treated the hypocoristic names, which usually defy ethnic classification and discussed (p. 161-168) the merging of different ethnic groups, in particular the marriages between Assyrians and Anatolians and the names of their offspring. He was followed by Laroche 1966, *Les Noms des Hittites*, which includes names from the texts from Kanesh,<sup>545</sup> which was supplemented by Laroche 1981. Since then the number of non-Assyrian names, provisionally distinguished into Neshite (or Proto-Hittite), Luwian, Hurrian<sup>546</sup> and (Proto-)Hattic, has considerably increased.<sup>547</sup> Both OA studies and Anatolian linguistics would profit from a new, comprehensive collection and analysis of all such names, which can build on work already done, in particular by Balkan in various articles.<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>545</sup> See the review by L. Matouš, *ArOr* 37 (1967) 619-21.

<sup>546</sup> See for Hurrians and Hurrian names, apart from Garelli 1963, 155ff., also Dercksen 1996, 163, and Wilhelm 1996. See for the Hurrian term *šinahilum*, "second in command", Veenhof 1989, 524, and for *unuššum*, "service obligation", Dercksen 2004b, 140 (he assumes that *ubādinnum* is of Luwian and *tuzinnum* perhaps of Hittite origin). Early recognized Hittite loanwords are *išhiul*, "contract" (𐎶), and *išpata(ḫ)*, "lodging".

<sup>547</sup> And will increase even more if the archives of Anatolian traders found in the *kārum* are finally published.

<sup>548</sup> Balkan 1973, 1974, 1979, and 1992, see also Donbaz 1996b.



### III. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

#### 1. BEFORE *KĀRUM* KANESH LEVEL II

##### 1.1. UNTIL THE UR III PERIOD

Our knowledge of the early history of Assur, before 2000 BC, is limited. In 1.1 I already mentioned the fact that the city, ruled by a governor, belonged to the Ur III empire, but there is little material evidence for the early phases, which are mostly only documented in the temple of Ishtar. Domination by the Old Akkadian empire, probably already under Maništusu, who built at the Ishtar temple in Ninive,<sup>549</sup> is clear from a few inscriptions, which mention Maništusu, as lord of Azuzu (*RIMA* 1, 8), and Rimuš, and from a small group of Old Akkadian texts found in a destruction layer under the Old Palace.<sup>550</sup> This links up with Naram-Sin's northward push and his subjugation of the rulers of Subartu and "the Upper Lands", which is documented at Niniveh, Nagar (Tell Brak), by his relief at Pir Hüseyin (north-east of Diyarbakır), and by inscriptions which commemorate that he reached Talhat, Hahhum, the sources of Euphrates and Tigris,<sup>551</sup> and his Cilician campaign. While these facts, as presented most recently by Goodnick Westenholz 1998, point at the existence of relations between Old Akkadian Mesopotamia and Anatolia, it is not easy to define them, but they may have been of a commercial nature. Levels 11-13 of the city-mound of Kanesh, from the end of the Early Bronze Period, indeed contain evidence for contacts with Mesopotamia in the form of imported objects.<sup>552</sup>

Contemporary written evidence for Old Akkadian contacts with Anatolia does not exist and we can only draw on two later compositions. An OB text from Sippar, which belongs to the tales around the "great rebellion" against Naram-Sin and in which Gutium is the main antagonist, simply lists the kings of Hahhum and Kanesh among his enemies.<sup>553</sup> More informative is the tale called "King of Battle" (*šar tamhari*),<sup>554</sup> on Sargon's campaign to Anatolia and his victory over the king of Burušanda, later known as an important trading city and the seat of an Old Assyrian colony. Could this tale contain a historical "core", the source of the surprising mention of Burušanda and perhaps also of Ka[nish] and of the fact that the king is persuaded to take action by the representative (*šukallum*) of the traders, whose interests apparently have been harmed

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<sup>549</sup> As recorded by Šamši-Adad I, see *RIMA* 1, 53 II:21ff.

<sup>550</sup> See Neumann 1997, 134ff., also on the mention of Assur in Old Akkadian texts from Gasur and in a fragment of an "archaic *kudurrū*".

<sup>551</sup> See for the inscription now C. Wilcke, *ZA* 87 (1997) 24, J, VIII:31-39.

<sup>552</sup> See Goodnick Westenholz 1998, 13 and 19f. Özgüç 2003, 29, states that Kanesh by that time "had developed economic and cultural connections with Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, evidenced by the imported cylinder seals, pottery and metal objects", but it seems to be more a matter of designs and types than of identified Akkadian objects imported into Anatolia.

<sup>553</sup> Goodnick Westenholz 1997, text 17:1 6'-7'; the names of both kings are broken, they end in *-anda* and *-ha-an*.

<sup>554</sup> See now Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 102ff., text 9. There also exists an originally Middle-Hittite version, see now E. Rieken, in: *ICH* IV, 576ff.

by what the king of Buruṣhanda did.<sup>555</sup> But much remains unclear and after the conquest of "the fabled Buruṣhanda" and in the meeting with its ruler trade is not an issue. The mention of a mighty mountain with lapis-lazuli and gold and of a series of impressive trees (lines 28f.) is to stress how difficult the road to the city is and not to describe its (commercial) riches. And in the end (rev. 24'ff.) only the attractive fruits of a variety of trees are mentioned,<sup>556</sup> which nevertheless are said not to be worth a journey to the city. The text might reflect memories of early trading contracts and perhaps even use data mentioned in a (now lost) original Sargonic inscription,<sup>557</sup> supplemented by later knowledge.<sup>558</sup> But without additional evidence we cannot use it for a historical reconstruction. While the existence of an early community of Mesopotamian traders working and staying in Anatolia, after the pattern of the Old Assyrian colonies, seems anachronistic, trade contacts by caravan are possible. That Hittite historiographic tradition has knowledge of the great kings of Akkad and that battles of them are somehow linked with their own military history, is better explained from later borrowing, either from the North-Mesopotamian Hurrian traditions or from ancient Assur, where these same kings were admired already in the 20th century BC., when Assur's ruler Šarru-kin I borrowed the great Sargon's name, complete with its divine determinative.<sup>559</sup>

## 1.2. FROM THE UR III PERIOD UNTIL ILUŠUMA

If the reign of Erišum I, under whom the trade on Kanesh and the system of eponymous *limums* became established facts, started in ca. 1874 BC, there are only ca. fifty years available after the end of Ur III to accommodate the rulers which precede him. They are in the first place his direct ancestors, nos. 30-32 of AKL, the first rulers of the "Puzur-Aššur dynasty", and in addition perhaps also no. 27, but nos. 28-29 are a problem. Akiya, 28, is completely unknown, and no. Kikkiya, 29, is only mentioned by Aššur-rēm-nišēšu as an early builder (before Ikūnum, no. 34) of the city-wall,<sup>560</sup> which suggests that the Middle Assyrian king had found a building inscription (an inscribed

<sup>555</sup> Text 9B 5f., "The city of Ka[nesh .....] I desire war, they have subjugated [        ]", but Kanesh is restored and the city does not figure in what follows. Goodnick-Westenholz takes "they have subjugated" as the *casus belli*, but if so, it remains unclear what had happened; perhaps the subjugation of Kanesh by Buruṣhanda, which would have harmed Mesopotamian traders? Later on the traders seem to say that they went there under Sargon's protection, but now face violence" (line 18).

<sup>556</sup> Note the mention of "pistachios of Buruṣhattum" in a letter from Mari, in Durand 2001, 130, lines 16f.

<sup>557</sup> If so, we cannot exclude that an exploit of Naram-Sin was transferred to Sargon. The possibility of literary, legendary elaborations of data in original inscriptions has been confirmed by the discovery of Naram-Sin's original inscription about "the great revolt", see C. Wilcke, ZA 87 (1997) 11-32.

<sup>558</sup> Possibly supplied by OA traders familiar with Anatolia, which links up with OA interest in the exploits of the great Sargonic kings, which has become clear by the discovery of a tale of Sargon (published in Günbatti 1998a, see now also Van de Mieroop 2000 and especially Dercksen 2006), written down before 1900 BC, which actually makes it the oldest tale of that kind preserved

<sup>559</sup> His grandson Naram-Sin did the same, see Veenhof 2003, 44ff.

<sup>560</sup> See above, note 2.

brick<sup>2</sup>) of him. We could doubt this by assuming that Tušpiya and Kikkiya were taken from the King List and presented as earliest builders of respectively the temple of Assur and of the city-wall, but we cannot prove it. If Kikkiya really has fortified Assur, it could have been an activity linked with the newly gained independence.<sup>561</sup>

In AKL he is preceded by the mysterious *Su-li-li* (variant *Su-le-e*), whose "father" Aminum recurs as no. 26, as son of Ila-kabkab-u, and therefore as elder brother of Šamši-Adad I. He apparently served to link the line of Šamši-Adad's ancestors (kings nos. 26-17, listed in reverse order) with the rulers who preceded him on the throne of Assur.<sup>562</sup> Since this link is clearly secondary, Sulili remains an isolated figure, but his position in the list, as first ruler after the group of "ancestors" and before the beginning of the "Puzur-Aššur dynasty", could identify him as the earliest independent ruler of Assur, perhaps even as Ur III's last local governor, who in due time had become independent. He is mentioned in a text of Tukulti-Ninurta I,<sup>563</sup> which states "From the beginning to the appearance<sup>2</sup>)<sup>564</sup> of the dynasty of Sulili, up to the dynasty of [ ]". The concept of his "dynasty" (b a l a) must be based on the fact that, after the group of six kings that he heads, the King List inserts the summarizing remark "In all six kings [known from] bricks, whose *limums* have not been found/marked" (see ch. 1.2.1). But this remark only explains the lack of information on the length of their reigns and it is extremely likely that a new dynasty in fact started with king no. 30, Puzur-Aššur, the earliest ancestor mentioned by both Šalim-ahum and Ilušuma. The only possibility of identifying Sulili would be to equate him, as has been amply discussed,<sup>565</sup> with a ruler only known from his seal inscription found on tablet envelopes from *kārum* Kanesh level II: *A-šūrki* / LUGAL / *Ši-lu-lu* / ENSI *A-šūrki* / DUMU *Da-ki-ki* / NIMGIR URU *A-šūrki*,<sup>566</sup> on the assumption of a serious scribal mistake in the King List.<sup>567</sup> This seal is only known from its later use on envelopes found in *kārum* Kanesh level II, by a namesake, Šilulu, the son of Uku,<sup>568</sup> who was year-eponym 98 of the year 1876 BC, by which time he must have been an adult and experienced citizen. This creates a problem for Lewy's claim (based on the principle of *papponomy*) that he would have obtained the seal as this ruler's grandson, because the temporal distance is too big. We simply do not know the relation between the eponym and the ruler whose seal he used. If we equate king no.

<sup>561</sup> See already Larsen 1976, 39.

<sup>562</sup> That the identity and chronological position of Aminum have become problematic due to MEC has been noted in Veenhof 2003, 62 note 112.

<sup>563</sup> Edited in Lamber 1985, the quote is from lines 5f.

<sup>564</sup> Lambert takes Sumerian *a . d a . m i n*, "fight, quarrel", on the basis of the Akkadian equivalent *tēšītu* as "the going out", which in concrete probably means "the appearance", since in AKL Sulili heads the group of six rulers without known regnal years, which follows the group of rulers called "ancestors". If Sulili really marks the emergence of Assur as an independent city, "struggle" should not surprise.

<sup>565</sup> By Balkan 1956, 54ff.; Lewy 1956, 72ff.; Garelli 1963, 33ff.

<sup>566</sup> See Balkan 1955, 54ff. and 1957, 60f., with *RIMA* 1, 12. See for a drawing Teissier 1994, 221 no. 237.

<sup>567</sup> This is not easy, not only because the vowel pattern is different, but also because in the seal inscription his name begins with the sign Šl (extremely rare in OA), which should not have caused confusion, as an OA spelling with initial Zl could have (cf. a comparable case with the ambiguous DU, mentioned in Veenhof, 2003, 21).

<sup>568</sup> See Larsen 1976, 146 note 120, with literature; he does not rule out the possibility that Šilulu belonged to the family of the rulers.

27 with the Īlulu of the seal, he can only have ruled before the Puzur-Aššur dynasty. Some support for this dating could be derived from the seal inscription, which begins with the "credo" that Assur is the king of the city and Šilulu its governor, which, as pointed out by Balkan, closely resembles the text on the seals of early rulers of Eshnunna after the Ur III period.<sup>569</sup> The fact that Sulili is not related to the following "Puzur-Aššur dynasty" may be compared with the situation in Eshnunna, where the first independent ruler after the demise of Ur III is also an isolated figure, with a different title ("mighty king"), after whom a new dynasty starts.

The earliest ruler known from an inscription is Šalim-ahum, who records that he built (at) the Assur temple "at the god's request", mentioning a number of chapels and rooms situated round the main inner court, among which one called "the palace (Ē.GAL) of .... Dagan", presumably identical to what was later called *bēt Dagan*, an important chapel shared by Dagan with Enlil and other gods.<sup>570</sup> This building activity would fit well into the early years of political independence, when the temple of the eponymous city god mattered much.

### 1.3. *ILUŠUMA AND ERIŠUM I*

The next two kings, nos. 31 and 32, are also known from original inscriptions,<sup>571</sup> which present full genealogies, starting with Puzur-Aššur I (no. 31), apparently the founder of the dynasty, whose name (extremely common in ancient Assur) was also used by two later rulers, nos. 36 and 61. Ilušuma did work on the Ištar temple, on the wall and on the residential area of his city<sup>572</sup> and he also provided it with water from springs in mount Abih, the Jebel Maḥlul, a northern spur of the Ġebel Hamrin, on which the city was built. Ilušuma is best known for what he describes next, at the end of inscription 2:

*"I established the addurārum of the Akkadians and their children. I washed their copper. I established their addurārum from the front of the lagoon and Ur and Nippur, Awal and Kismar, Dēr of the god Ištaran, until the City (of Assur)".*

Larsen,<sup>573</sup> after a solid analysis of these intriguing lines, considers it a description of a measure that "attempted to attract traders from the south to the market of Assur by giving them certain privileges". The problem is to know what "establishing *addurārum*" and "washing a person's copper" in concrete mean. The latter measure is at times

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<sup>569</sup> The earliest independent ruler, Šu-ilia, called himself "king of the land Warūm", but his successors (*RIME* 4, 489ff.) called themselves é n s i of the city, whose "mighty king" was the god Tišpak. With Ipiq-Adad I (522) the inscriptions become different, starting with RN<sub>1</sub> *narām* DN ÉNSI GN DUMU RN<sub>2</sub>. See also Whiting, *AfO* 34 (1987) 24 and C.

Reichel, in: *Studies Kienast*, 355-373, who is inclined to link the change in title with political misfortune after Šu-ilia, "when political power had suffered a terrible and lasting blow" (359).

<sup>570</sup> See Larsen 1976, 56f., and Van Driel 1969, 32f.

<sup>571</sup> *RIMA* 1, A.O. 31 and 32.

<sup>572</sup> The words of lines 23-29 probably have to be translated as "I designed a new wall crosswise (?) and in this way I added ("assigned") house plots to my city". His work on the Ištar temple, considering the new reconstruction by Bär 2005, must have been on temple E.

<sup>573</sup> Larsen 1976, 63-78.

interpreted as a cancellation of debts in copper, since the verb *masā'um*, "to wash away", can be used for it,<sup>574</sup> but it is difficult to envisage it, since Assur to all appearances was supplied with copper from the south (presumably from Oman, via the Persian Gulf) and "washing copper" cannot mean "to abolish taxes on copper". Dercksen 1986 suggested that the king "boasts himself of having been able to melt and refine copper that was brought to his city by the Akkadians, as proof of power or of prosperity". But in 2003 he suggested that the words could indicate that Babylonia during this period was supplied with copper via Assur, presumably with copper from the mines at Ergani Maden, when imports via the Persian Gulf had been interrupted. "To wash their copper" then would mean "to supply them with refined copper", and imply that copper was refined at Assur before being shipped to the south. Both interpretations have their problems and for lack of evidence from Assur the choice is difficult, but I prefer the first one because it better suits the basic meaning of "to wash".

*Addurārum* primarily means the restoring of the original situation, which can mean granting "freedom", if its beneficiaries had been subjected to forced labor or slavery. The latter is meant in the recently published treaty between *kārum* Kanesh and the king of Kanesh (ch. V.2.1), which speaks of establishing the "*addurārum* of slave-girls [and slaves]".<sup>575</sup> This could be accomplished by a royal cancellation of debts and their consequences, but also by eliminating an oppressor. This is the case in oldest occurrence of the term in an inscription of Naram-Sin of Akkad, who did so by defeating "the oppressor" of Kish, obviously Lugalzagesi of Uruk.<sup>576</sup> But it is extremely unlikely that Iluṣuma had the military power to do so (and from whose oppression?) with the "Akkadians", that is people living south of Assur in an area ranging from Eshnunna all the way down to Ur and the Persian Gulf.<sup>577</sup> And he might perhaps cancel the debts of "foreigners", but only if they had become indebted to Assyrians and lived as debt-slaves in Assur, which is extremely unlikely.<sup>578</sup> This leaves us with derived meanings of *andurārum*, such as exemption from taxes and freedom of traffic and circulation of goods, advocated by Lewy,<sup>579</sup> for which there are old examples.<sup>580</sup> This makes it a

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<sup>574</sup> Local rulers of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian period use the expression *hubullam masā'um* (see Balkan 1976), which was probably borrowed from Assyria.

<sup>575</sup> See Günbattı 2004, 253, lines 82f., where in line 83 one expects a verb, possibly *ta-ša-ku-nu-ni*.

<sup>576</sup> See C Wilcke, ZA 87 (1997) 25 J, X:12f. who restores and reads: in [KASKAL] *mu[šallil] šunu [is] 'arma [andur]aršunu i[škun]*, in line with the OB version from Mari, *alam Uruk inērma [andu]rār Kišim iškun [abbutis]unu ušaglib ū kuršēšunu [uhaš]sib*; see D. Charpin, FM 3 (1997) 10, lines 5-8, with on p. 12f. the comments on the *andurārum*, which he interprets as the liberation of people of Kish, made prisoners and kept as slaves by Uruk.

<sup>577</sup> "Akkadians" also occurs in the legal decision of the City Assembly, which forbids Assyrians to sell gold to "Akkadians", and in the draft of a treaty with a minor South Anatolian ruler, who promises not to let "Akkadian" traders visit his country, see Günbattı 2004, 250 note 8, lines 11-15.

<sup>578</sup> The fact that we now have an occurrence of *addurārum waššurum*, "to release (debts by means of) an *a*." (a synonym of *hubullam masā'um*), performed by an Anatolian ruler, does not prove that this is the meaning in Iluṣuma's text.

<sup>579</sup> J. Lewy, *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958) 23\*.

measure with an economic, commercial goal, which fits the development of Assur as a trading city. It also makes it understandable that it applies to "the Akkadians *and their sons*", since an abolition of taxes and tolls has a lasting effect, while a cancellation of debts, in OB royal decrees designated as "restoring equity" (*mišaram šakānum*) always was an *ad hoc* measure, which was only retroactive.

This interpretation is supported by the geographical range of the measure, which suggests an itinerary which links southern Babylonia (Ur and the area of the lagoons) with Assur, via Nippur, with a crossing of the Tigris somewhere near Maškan-šapir, from where the route continues to the north-east, to Dēr (Badreh) and via Kismar across the Diyala to Awal,<sup>581</sup> and then along the foothills of the Zagros and east of the Tigris to Assur. This may have been the route taken by "Akkadian" caravans that visited Assur to do business there.<sup>582</sup>

While tangible evidence of Assur's commercial penetration of Anatolia, as will be shown below, only becomes available with Erišum I, Ilušuma's inscription makes it rather likely that the city's trade already flourished under him and thanks to his policy. New evidence could be available in the impression of a seal from (a servant of) Iši-Dagan, a ruler (*šakkanakkum*) of Mari, found together with other sealings under the floor of temple E 2 of Ishtar and dating to around 2000 BC or a little later. Such sealings, originally applied to a variety of containers, usually are evidence of the arrival of goods from elsewhere (in this case from Mari), probably (unfortunately all details escape us) in the context of diplomatic gift exchange or trade.<sup>583</sup>

The term *addurārum* also occurs in the report by Erišum I on what he accomplished when he built the temple of Assur:

*When I applied myself to the work, my city obeyed me and I realized the addurārum of silver, gold, copper, tin, barley, wool, until even brand and chaff".*

We may compare this claim with those of contemporary Babylonian rulers, who mention the favorable rates of exchange and generous rations for workers at the time they built a temple, as proof of economic prosperity during their reign,<sup>584</sup> but there are

<sup>580</sup> Kraus 1970, 30 note 94, on texts from Girsu in Gudea's time, where its Sumerian precursor *a m a . a r . g i<sub>4</sub> g a r . r a* is used of goods such as silver, copper, bronze, textiles and grain.

<sup>581</sup> Texts from the Hamrin area have shown that Awal is Tell Suleimeh, just west of the middle course of the Diyala. See for this city also *JCS* 28 (1976) 178f. (an Ur III *e n s i* of Awal, who is also military governor of Maškan-šarrum) and *AbB* 3, 60:7f., the letter of an OB trader ("I am in Awal and my goal is Assur"). Kismar, better known from Ur III texts and at times associated with Maškan-šarrum (see also *OBTI* 305:1 and 50), has not yet been identified, but probably must be located to the south-east of Mē-Turān and Eshnunna.

<sup>582</sup> See the letter VS 26, 17:4-14 (= *CMK* 110), which reports that the Akkadians have not come to Assur, because their country is in revolt, but may turn up before the winter.

<sup>583</sup> See Bär 2005. He states that the piece of clay with the name of Mari's ruler must have been part of a sealing used to close a door or a box, and even speculates that, if the former were the case, the Ishtar temple might have contained a sealed room where goods arriving from Mari were stored.

<sup>584</sup> See for these so-called "tariffs", D.C. Snell, *Ledgers and Prices. Early Mesopotamian Merchant Accounts*, YNER 8 (New Haven 1982), 204ff., and now also the tariff of rations and market prices of Sin-iddinam from Mashkanshapir, in E. Stone-P. Zimansky, *The Anatomy of a*

differences. Erišum does not describe a prevailing situation, but a measure he took, preceded the statement that "the city obeyed him". This stresses the king's authority, but perhaps also the willing cooperation of Assur's citizens, which was then (note the connecting *-ma*) rewarded by the measures described. And while the other royal "tariffs" mention the prices of basic foodstuffs and necessities of life - barley, dates, oil, lard, wool, and copper - given out as rations or sold on the domestic market (so Šamši-Adad I), Erišum also mentions silver, gold and tin, which happen to be vital in Old Assyrian overland trade. The final words are as a kind of *merismus*, "(from silver and gold ....) down to bran and even chaff",<sup>585</sup> and stress that the measure applied to every item used or traded. This only makes sense if *addurārum* here, again, means free circulation and unrestricted barter and trade in the items mentioned.

This interpretation implies that the measure was taken to further the prosperity of Assur, in particular by stimulating a free exchange of goods. The mention of tin is intriguing and could be taken to imply that Assur in this way could produce its own vital bronze. But the combination with gold and silver, which do not occur in other "tariffs", point to the overland trade on Anatolia, which thrived on the export of tin and the import of silver and gold. Taken thus the measure would have stimulated Assur's role in the international trade as a kind of central place for assembling merchandise for export to the north.

This implies that this trade was already practiced in Erišum's time and this is now confirmed by the discovery of pieces of envelope (presumably of a royal letter; kt 83/k 246), with an impression of his seal, in *kārum* Kanesh in 1983.<sup>586</sup> This discovery not only proves that caravan trade was practiced, which may already have been the case under Ilušuma, but also that Assyrians had settled in *kārum* Kanesh, since the impressions were found in the house of an Assyrian trader.<sup>587</sup> This is welcome evidence, since the oldest dated records found in the *kārum* are later than Erišum's reign. That trade developed in his times is also supported by the fact that the institution of the annually appointed *limum*, who became the head of the "City Hall", which was so important for the commerce, started in the first year of his reign.<sup>588</sup> It is also supported by two copies of an inscription of Erišum I, found in the *kārum* in 1948, now available in *RIMA* 1, 20f. Its first part, on the Erišum's building activities, is followed (lines 26ff.) by a report on the measures he took to improve the administration of justice, which should result in righteous verdicts. In lines 39ff. two items receive full attention, the concern to prevent false testimony (*šibūt sarrātim*) and help for a plaintiff in the form of a royal permission to use an "attorney" (*rābišum*). The importance of both is clear from the many

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*Mesopotamian City. Survey and Soundings at Mashkan-Shapir* (Winona Lake 2004) 142, II:5ff.

<sup>585</sup> Well known from Old Babylonian records on the division of an inheritance. The words *adi e-TA* in line 23 of Erišum's text are not clear and *RIMA*'s interpretation as "hire, wages", turned into "as payment of" is not acceptable, because it does not fit *pā'um*, "chaff" (not straw), which is worthless, and because there is no evidence for a (compulsory?) payment of or tax on bran and chaff. They probably mean something like "all the way down to".

<sup>586</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 41, for a photo Özgüç 2003, 18 no.4, and for a description, Özgüç-Tunca, 137 ("belongs to the earlier group of Isin-Larsa seals", but the seals referred to in the footnote are all later than Erišum I!).

<sup>587</sup> Only a few texts from the 165 found in 1983, in the house in grid e/12, are thus far known, see Michel, 2004a, 160 and only one of the bullae from this archive has a (damaged) inscription. See Veenhof 2003, 41 note 63, for the possibility that it was inhabited by a *kārum* official.

<sup>588</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 41f.

judicial records found in the archives of the *kārum*. They show that due to the legal and commercial complications of the trade, with people and evidence in Assur and Anatolia, in many legal fights the matter of establishing facts and providing proof was vital. By testimony of witnesses under oath<sup>589</sup> disputed facts, for which no records existed, were available, or whose validity was contested, could be "confirmed, proved", a rule which occurs in an official letter of the *kārum*, in a verdict of the City, and even in a "law" written on a stela.<sup>590</sup> The "attorney", which the plaintiff himself had to hire and pay, was authorized to search for and verify facts by summons, interrogation and inspection of documents.<sup>591</sup> The link between royal inscription and judicial practice may explain the presence of two copies of this text in a house in the *kārum*<sup>592</sup> and supports the view that Erišum's judicial measures were an answer to legal problems in connection with the overland trade which the ruler wished to address.

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<sup>589</sup> The inscription takes great pain to describe the terrible fate of the perjurer.

<sup>590</sup> Veenhof 1995a, 1725 and 1729. The verb is *kuānum*, intransitive (OA occurrences not listed in *CAD K s.v.*); see now also kt 94/k 1133:14f., on a claim, *ina tuppēšu u šibēšu ikuanma .... kaspam ilaqqe*.

<sup>591</sup> See for his role Larsen 1976, 284ff., and Veenhof, 1994b, 182ff. (he had to be hired by the plaintiff and his duties and wages were recorded in a contract).

<sup>592</sup> There is no proof that this house contained a school, as claimed initially, but the existence of two not identical copies (lines 31-35a only in ex. 1; see for a proposed reading Dercksen 2003, 95) indicates scribal activity (the orthography is later than that of Erišum's other inscriptions on stone) and shows the importance attached to the text.



## 2. THE PERIOD OF *KĀRUM KANESH*

### 2.1. *THE MAIN PHASE, KĀRUM KANESH LEVEL II*

How the trade developed still needs much more research, but it is already clear that its growth in size and sophistication are linked. The range of action of the traders increased and must have resulted in more colonies and trading stations, also in more marginal areas, and to exploit these possibilities more capital, more traders and more personnel must have been needed. Increase of capital presumably led to the formation of "joint-stock companies", which worked with a large capital (called *naruqqum*), invested by shareholders.<sup>593</sup> A wider range and increased quantities of merchandise led to the use of traveling agents (called *tamkārum*), who took lots of merchandise (at times with the donkeys on which they were loaded) in commission on credit to sell them in the countryside and this is reflected in the hundreds of debt-notes which record their financial liabilities, with due dates. Since the early phase of the trade, before eponymy-year 75, is badly documented,<sup>594</sup> it is difficult to map these developments, but it is noteworthy that the three known, dated contracts by which a joint-stock company was founded are dated to eponymies 64, 67 and 77, hence already fairly early in the reign of Šarrukin.

Need for more capital and more credit to *tamkārums* required new types of financial arrangement, including more securities and it is my conviction that this gave rise to new ways of financing and new security devices. The first, both for short-term and long-term investments and with differences as to sharing risks and profits, have been well analyzed in Dercksen 1999,<sup>595</sup> the latter in Veenhof 1999. A measure of security was also provided by the heavy default interest of thirty percent, which seems to have been based on a ruling of *kārum Kanesh*, which introduced a standard rate.<sup>596</sup> Special security devices were the stipulation that the creditor himself could borrow the amount owed from a money-lender at the expense of his defaulting debtor (who will be charged double interest), the creation of a "payment contract" (*tarkistum*), which stipulates a hundred or two-hundred percent penalty for pressing an unfounded or refusing a valid debt-claim, and the introduction of apparently transferable debt-notes due to an

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<sup>593</sup> We have only a few contracts recording the foundation of such a *naruqqum*, since they were usually kept in Assur, where the investors lived.

<sup>594</sup> At least by dated contracts, mainly debt-notes. This is not surprising, because when a debt was paid the contract was given back and destroyed. Since the increase of the number of debt-notes was a consequence of the use of *tamkāru*-agents, the lack of early ones might also indicate that this happened less in early years. Moreover, traders will have occasionally cleaned their archives by discarding old records not longer valid or necessary.

<sup>595</sup> It is possible that the usually small, so-called *tadmiqtum* loan or commission (also known from OB texts, where they may occur alongside investments in partnerships), whereby merchandise was entrusted in good faith to a trader to sell it "as well as possible" (*dammuqum*), without guaranteed commission or profit, is also a later development.

<sup>596</sup> *Kīma awat kārim (Kaniš)*, passim. Note also interest on a silver debt *kīma awat kārim Timilkia*, in kt 87/k 256:6f. (courtesy K. Hecker), and interest on a debt in copper *kīma awat kārim Durhumit*, in kt 91/k 390:8f., but we do not know whether these rare rates were different.

anonymous creditor (called *tamkārum*), who could also be identified as "the bearer of the tablet" (*wābil tuppim šut tamkārum*).<sup>597</sup> The development of the role of guarantors (*ša qātātim*), the securities they needed (right of regress on the debtor, protection by a pledge),<sup>598</sup> and rules for charging simple or compound interest should also be mentioned here. Finally we also have a category of protected loans, with close supervision of the debtor, which should allow him to make a journey to Assur and make profitable purchases which, after their sale in Anatolia, would "secure his economic survival" (*ša balātišu*) and might prevent bankruptcy.<sup>599</sup>

Increased caravan traffic must also have had consequences, if only for the breeding and training the expensive "black donkeys" for which there was a constant need.<sup>600</sup> They were acquired in a special station or corral (*gigamlum*) outside Assur, which also had to be supplied with harness, saddle rugs and bags for packing and carrying their loads. More caravans also meant a need for more personnel, transporters (*kaššārum*) and donkey drivers ("packers", *sāridum*), who had to be hired. Unfortunately, is it difficult to use the contracts by which they were engaged as a chronological indicator for the volume of the trade, because they are normally undated. Moreover, the contract was basically the record of the receipt of interest-free loan (called *be'ulātum*) in exchange for an obligation to work, which was duly given back (and in most cases presumably destroyed) when the contract was terminated. It is purely by chance that the oldest dated record is such a *be'ulātum* contract, CCT 5, 10a (*El* 97) perhaps preserved, in its envelope CCT 6, 23c, because the loan was never paid back. It is instructive to note that the terminology used in this contract deviates from the later, standardized stipulations and that its orthography and paleography exhibit older features,<sup>601</sup> because this illustrates that these features can be used as chronological indicators. The two seals impressed on the envelope of this contract, nos. 16 and 52 in CCT 6, are early Old Assyrian, in the tradition of the Ur III repertoire, with a combat scene and a supplication scene. This makes them, apart from the seal of Erišum himself,<sup>602</sup> the earliest dated seal impressions, which is useful for typological and stylistic comparison and for the relative dating of other seals.

After the first half of the reign of Šarru-kin there is a substantial increase in dated documents<sup>603</sup> and this marks the beginning of the "best-documented" phase of *kārum* Kanesh level II. It is the period covered by the archives of the main traders, such as those of Alāhum, Adad-šulūlī, Aššur-taklāku son of Alāhum (kt 93/k, C. Michel), Elamma

<sup>597</sup> See for these devices, Veenhof 1999, 81ff., and for the Old Assyrian "bearer's cheque", Veenhof 1997b, 351ff.

<sup>598</sup> See Veenhof, 2001, 108ff.

<sup>599</sup> See for these transactions, Veenhof 1987a.

<sup>600</sup> Because most donkeys, with their harness, were ultimately sold in Anatolia, since only a few were needed for shipping silver, gold and persons back to Assur. See for all aspects of the "pack-donkey" in OA now Dercksen 2004a, Appendix 3.

<sup>601</sup> Frequent use of TI<sub>1</sub>, many "Winkelhaken" in signs like LI, US and ZI, and "full" forms of LA<sub>1</sub> and UG.

<sup>602</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 41, for a photo Özgüç 2003, 18, no. 4, and for a description Özgüç-Tunca 2001, 137, where it is stated that "it belongs in style to the earlier group of Isin-Larsa seals". But note that the seals mentioned there in footnote 65 are all later than Erišum I, who died in ca. 1935 BC.

<sup>603</sup> Eponymy 78 occurs ten times and after 79 most are attested twenty or more times, while for 65-77 we have only between two and seven attestations each.

son of Iddin-Suen (kt 91/k and 92/k, K.R.Veenhof), Enlil-bāni, Šalim-Aššur son of Issūrik (kt 94/k, M.T. Larsen), Ušur-ša-lštar (kt n/k, Bayram, Çeçen, Günbatlı), and the archives published in AKT 3 and TPAK 1. The picture of Old Assyrian trade in full swing, with all its institutional, legal and social characteristics, is based on the texts of these archives, which in general cover the period between eponymy years 75 and 120.

It is not easy to discover changes in this period, but there was one in the system of the *hamuštum* or week-eponym who functioned (one single text speaks of him as "holding", *ka'ulum*, the office) in *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>604</sup> This system meant that a great many traders, for short periods, usually in the course of a number of years, were designated to serve as week-eponym in the administration of the *kārum*.<sup>605</sup> It must have been introduced (but we do not know exactly when<sup>606</sup>) to meet the administrative needs of the expanding organization of *kārum* Kanesh and may have played a role in the settling of accounts. At first these eponyms always appear in pairs, but in year 98 a change to single week eponyms has taken place,<sup>607</sup> while for the last years of this period, after eponymy 120,<sup>608</sup> no week eponyms are attested. We do not know what this change from single to double eponyms meant.

The political history of this period, apart from what the sources tell us about diplomatic and commercial relations with the Anatolian cities and palaces, remains unknown. The evidence we have on the activities of the ruler of Assur, the City Assembly and the City Hall is restricted to their involvement in the economy and rulings and decisions that were of direct importance for the trade. Above (II.2.3) I mentioned measures that aimed at protecting the Assyrian trade (and possibly production) of textiles and restrict the circulation of gold by a categorical interdiction to give it (no doubt by way of commercial exchange) to Akkadians, Subareans and Amorites. We also have a very interesting, but completely isolated letter, TC 1, 5, written by a body called *nibum* to *kārum* Kanesh, on the payment of a (modest) sum of ten pounds of silver, imposed by the City Assembly as the *kārum*'s contribution to the expenses (*gamrum*) made for the city wall or

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<sup>604</sup> See Larsen 1976, 354ff. That a *hamuštum* as a calendaric unit of time equaled one week was shown in Veenhof 1996a. The maximum number of different *hamuštums* attested during one and the same month (month IX of eponymy 89) is now four.

<sup>605</sup> Exact data are dangerous, because many of the theoretically ca. two thousand week-eponymies of the 'best attested period' are still unknown, many occur without mention of month and year eponym, and there are many namesakes. Selecting only well-known traders with (fairly) unique names, we can state that men like Buzutāya, Elamma, Imdilum, Pušu-kēn and Puzur-šadu'e each functioned ca. five to seven times over periods of up to ten years. See for frequency also Larsen 1976, 358f., but his numbers now have to be raised.

<sup>606</sup> That for the two oldest attested year eponymies (41, in kt 94/k 1263 rev.:8f., in a memorandum with excerpts of debt-notes - courtesy Larsen, and 47, in CCT 1, 10a, a service contract, which usually is not dated) no week eponyms are mentioned does not mean that they did not exist. The third oldest text, ICK 1, 143:17ff., from year 59, has a (double) week eponymy,

<sup>607</sup> See Kryszat 2004a, 160. That some single week eponyms already turn up during the years KEL 96 and 97 may indicate a gradual transition or perhaps a gradual scribal simplification.

<sup>608</sup> See Kryszat 2004a, 98 with note 366 (attested for the first month of that year).

fortifications (written BAD.KI) of Assur. We cannot date it, nor do not know what exactly the *nibum* was, so that its possible political implications escape us.<sup>609</sup>

The rulers of Assur after Erišum I, which succeeded each other as members of one family and dynasty, during a period of ca. one hundred years, notwithstanding some information on their family<sup>610</sup> and the existence of some of their letters addressed to *kārum* Kanesh, basically remain shadowy figures. We do not have a single inscription of them and even Šarru-kin, with a clearly programmatic name (was it given by his father or as throne name?) and a long reign, during which the trade on Anatolia flourished, is basically just a name, and the same is true of his long reigning grandson Narām-Suen, also called after an illustrious Old Akkadian emperor.<sup>611</sup>

## 2.2. THE LAST YEARS OF KĀRUM KANESH LEVEL II

The disappearance of week-eponyms in year 120, seventeen years before the end of *kārum* level II, deserves more attention. It points to a change in the administrative procedures that was lasting, since they do not recur during the later level Ib, and may be linked with the remarkable fact that most of the well-known, large archives stop in that same period, usually even a few years earlier. The latest record of the archive of "Pūšu-kēn and Sons" is from year 111, and of that of Enlil-bāni from year 114, and the latest text in the archive of "Imdilum and Son" is dated to year 109 (in OIP 27, 56).<sup>612</sup> The oldest dated records of Elamma, son of Iddin-Suen (kt 1991/1992/k), to mention an officially excavated and hence complete archive, are from years 66 and 73, after which he remains active during the next twenty years,<sup>613</sup> to occur for the last time in year 94, but we do not know when he died. His widow and sons represent him in a legal case of year 105 and there is an agreement from the tenth month of year 106 about the division of his inheritance among his children. This may have been in consequence of the death of his wife, Lamassatum, last attested in a record from the second month of year 106, whose last will is referred to in some (undated) texts. Apparently his sons, who already figure in records ten years earlier, carry the business on and the latest dated record in which they appear is from year 115.<sup>614</sup> In the archive of Šalim-Aššur, son of Issurik, excavated in 1994, according to information kindly provided by Larsen, the latest record in which his son is attested is from year 108. The texts excavated in 1970 (kt v/k), which belong to Šalim-ahum and his two sons,<sup>615</sup> comprise a few records from early years (68-73), but the majority is from the well documented period, the latest are a debt-note of Ennum-Aššur (kt v/k 171) from year

<sup>609</sup> See the latest treatment of this letter in Dercksen 2004a, 62ff.

<sup>610</sup> Note also the occurrence of Šallim-Aššur, son of LUGAL-GI.NA, in kt 87/ k 552:40f., most probably a royal prince.

<sup>611</sup> The data known on them are presented in Veenhof 2003, ch. 6.

<sup>612</sup> Years after Imdilum himself, attested since year 78, had returned to Assur.

<sup>613</sup> His *naruqu*-contract is from year 77 and he served several times as week-eponym between the years 82 and 91.

<sup>614</sup> In a record of year 113 one of the sons is summoned to produce a tablet of his father in connection with a disputed debt-claim.

<sup>615</sup> I use the texts published in AKT 3 and the records in envelopes, kt v/k 146ff., whose knowledge I owe to the kindness of V. Donbaz.

112, a letter (no. 81) about a debt from year 117, and a debt-note (kt v/k 146) from year 119.<sup>616</sup>

This does not mean that there are no records from last fifteen to twenty years of level II. A good example is the archive of Kuliya, excavated in 1992, most texts of which were written between the years 123 and 135, but it is an exception.<sup>617</sup> A few still unpublished archives might change the picture somewhat, but the generally small number of references for late eponyms is striking. We have only fifty eponymic dates from the last seventeen years (twelve of which are in Kuliya's archive), hence on average only three per year, which is quite different from the years 90 to 110, for each of which we usually have between twenty-five and forty references. Nevertheless these archives, as is clear for those of Elamma and "Šalim-ahum and Sons", were found *in situ* in their houses, where they still must have been stored when the *kārum* was destroyed and deserted some twenty years later. There is no textual evidence that their houses had subsequently been acquired or inhabited by others, who then should have left the archives of the previous owners in place. The little archive or rather dossier of Kuliya, with a good seventy texts, according to the excavator was found stored away in a niche, in an otherwise empty house in grid LV-LVI/126-127.

How can we explain this situation? Their owners may have anticipated the coming disaster, which seems likely because no unburied skeletons were found and the strongrooms contained no valuables apart from tablets. They would have left the *kārum*, taking along their still valid, hence latest records, especially dated debt-botes, while leaving many other records behind.<sup>618</sup> It is also possible, but less likely, that some time after the destruction they came back to salvage such records, again primarily the debt-notes. Another scenario is that after year 110 to 115 more and more traders started to leave *kārum* Kanesh, to settle more permanently in other colonies, because the focus of their commercial activities and interests was shifting towards the cities in the west or north - Burušaddum, Wahšušana, Durhumit - which were the centres of the trade in silver, gold and copper. This would have meant that *kārum* Kanesh with its houses remained intact, but functioned ever more as the administrative center of the colonial network. This would fit the nature and dating of Kuliya's archive, since he acted as a messenger of the *kārum* and therefore must have been more tied to the "colonial capital" than others. Official letters of *kārum* Kanesh addressed to various Assyrian settlements, found in his archive,<sup>619</sup> show that he traveled to Assyrian settlements in Hanaknak, Hattuš, Kuburnat, Ninašša, Šinahuttum, Tamnia, Tišmurna, Tuḫpia and Durhumit, and this suggests that the trading network was still functioning. The main cities (and colonial settlements) to the (south)-east - Timilkia, Hurama, Luhusaddia, Kuššara, Tegarama - and to the (north)-west - Burušaddum, Wahšušana, Wašhania - are indeed not mentioned in these letters. But is this really proof of disintegration, of a situation in which the latter cities would have been "out of reach of the central colony in Kanesh at the time", as Dercksen

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<sup>616</sup> In this last text the creditor is Hanunu, to whom also a letter of the archive is addressed. A single very late debt-note, from year 134, kt v/k 159, does not seem to belong to the archive; the debtor is an Anatolian married to a daughter of the main person of the archive of kt 94/k 570ff., Šalim-Aššur.

<sup>617</sup> We have two earlier eponymies, one of year 90, in a long memorandum, and one of year 105, which deals with a debt-claim of Kuliya's mother.

<sup>618</sup> This distinction is not without problems, because it is difficult to determine the date of undated letters, judicial records, and lists.

<sup>619</sup> Çecen 1997a and cf. Dercksen 2004a, 114ff.

suggests?<sup>620</sup> Kuliya's commission apparently was to make a circular trip in the area north of Kanesh, within the great bend of the Kızılırmak, and other messengers may well have been sent out to inform the cities in the areas more to the west and east. One of his letters in fact does mention Wahšušana and the letters kt n/k 67,<sup>621</sup> sent from Wahšušana to Kanesh, and kt 83/k 284,<sup>622</sup> sent by *kārum* Wahšušana to Kanesh, deal with the same issue of the collection of the tax on iron and from traders arriving via the *sukinnu*-route.<sup>623</sup> However this may be, it would be understandable that a situation with fewer active traders in *kārum* Kanesh led to the abolition of the system of week-eponyms, either because the administration did no longer need it or because there were too few competent traders available to do the job.

It is not easy to prove this hypothesis. While we have references to various traders who live or stay (the verb *wašābum* is used in both meanings) in other colonies, or even have a house there, it is difficult to date these references and to discover a pattern, which may only be possible by thorough archival and prosopographic analysis. In the mean time the development suggested seems to offer the most "natural" explanation both for the end of the system of week-eponyms and for the lack of records dated to the last fifteen to twenty years.

The destruction of level II of *kārum* Kanesh must have been the result of a military conflict inside Anatolia, but we cannot identify the actor(s), nor do we know whether it affected only Kanesh. The possibility that its destruction was due to its conquest by king Uhna of Zalpuwa (the northern Zalpa, possibly Ikiztepe, northwest of Bafra), mentioned as an event of the past in the "Anitta Text" (obv. 39ff.), cannot be proved.<sup>624</sup> While a destruction of the whole of the colonial network, stretching from the Pontus to the Taurus and from the Töz Golü (or even the plain of Konya) to Malatya, is very unlikely, a larger area than Kanesh is feasible, but evidence is hard to bring. We know that there was a *kārum* Hattuş during the level II period,<sup>625</sup> but all dated texts found there, with one exception, belong to level Ib.<sup>626</sup> The same is true of Amkuwa, which during the period of *kārum* Kanesh level II was the seat of an Assyrian *wabartum*,<sup>627</sup> but yielded only one isolated record (OIP 27 no. 8) from this period, dated to year 115. These two Assyrian settlements consequently should have noticed the effects of the destruction of Kanesh, but they remain silent. Moreover, there are clear traces of a major destruction and conflagration at Boğazköy, which spelled the end of level IV, which is contemporary with *kārum* Kanesh level Ib, not with level II. We can only state that neither Amkuwa nor Hattuş have yielded a single text dated to one of the good twenty years (whose eponymies are known from the Mari Eponym Chronicle) following destruction of *kārum* Kanesh level II. But this is negative evidence, weakened by the small number of texts available.

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<sup>620</sup> Dercksen 2004a, 116

<sup>621</sup> Donbaz 2001a.

<sup>622</sup> Günbattı 1995, 111f.

<sup>623</sup> Note also the interesting suggestion by Dercksen 2004a, 144, that in the Assyrian system Kanesh and Burušhaddum may have been "two separate tax districts".

<sup>624</sup> Possibility suggested by Klengel 1998, 26. Uhna's campaign cannot be dated and it is not certain that it resulted in the destruction of Kanesh.

<sup>625</sup> Apart from the unpublished and untracable text, mentioned as evidence in Nashef 1991, 58, we now have clear evidence from kt n/k 1952:19f. and kt 92/k 203:3.

<sup>626</sup> See Dercksen 2001a, 59 on KBo 36, 113.

<sup>627</sup> See Nashef 1991, 9, and now also kt a/k 1070 (letter of *kārum* Kaniš to it) and k/k 101:14f. (verdict).

In an undated letter (kt 92/k 248) two men, Alpili and Aššur-lamassi, writing from Tawinia, located southwest of Hattuš on the road that leads across the Kizilirmak to Wahšusana,<sup>628</sup> tell Kuliya:

"We are well, we are staying in Tawinia. We are catching rumors that the residents (*wašbūtum*) of Wahšusana have left. Within two days, when we will hear the facts, we will let you know by letter where we will turn".<sup>629</sup>

Dercksen 2004a, 116, suggests that the departure of Assyrian traders could be due to political turmoil, which is not impossible. And since Kuliya's archive is late, one might even assume that the political upheaval is foreboding the destruction of Kanesh. While it is true that also the native population occasionally left the cities en masse, for a public, perhaps military event called *sikkātum*,<sup>630</sup> it is rather likely to take "residents" (*wašbūtum*) as referring to the Assyrians. The verb in our texts is used both to denote that traders are temporarily staying somewhere, during a caravan journey or for doing business, as the writers of our letter use it. But it may also denote that traders had settled in a town, in a *kārum* or *wabartum*, which may have given them a certain status. An official letter of *kārum* Kanesh on the levying of the *šadduʾutu*-tax owed to it (kt 92/k 203:32, Veenhof 2007b no. 2) prescribes that every Assyrian who carries out business (*šutēbulum*) in a particular town has to pay it, "even when he is a resident of the *kārum*" (*lu wašib kārīm*), which could refer to the local *kārum* or to that of Kanesh. The term is found in a few other texts, twice in the combination "the *dātu*-payers, the residents of Tuhpia, and those traveling to the City" (*wāšbūtum ša GN u ālikū harrān ālim*),<sup>631</sup> similarly in a text from Hattuš, which speaks of "those who reside in Ha-ʿzi-ik-[x x], those traveling to the City, and *kārum* Hattuš",<sup>632</sup> and finally in a text<sup>633</sup> that mentions "the residents of the town of Hamatah[...]".

In all these cases the "residents" are involved in legal matters, they figure as a group of traders who happen to be present in a particular town where they function as members of an *ad hoc* body or court. Apparently one makes use of the presence and expertise of temporary residents and visitors, perhaps because the town in question did not harbor a real Assyrian colony but only a limited number of Assyrian traders,<sup>634</sup> who could not or no longer function as court. I assume that *wašbūtum*<sup>635</sup> here designates those who

<sup>628</sup> See for Tawinia as the seat of an Assyrian *kārum*, below IV.2 no. 26, and for its location on the road to Wahšusana, ATHE 63, 18ff.

<sup>629</sup> Lines 7-15, *ništanamme wašbūtum ša Wahšusana ittašūnim adi 2 ūmē zakussa nišammema alē nipannū nišapparakkum*.

<sup>630</sup> See for *sikkātum*, Veenhof 1989. During the time a *sikkātum* lasted no trade was possible and Assyrian activity could even be somewhat dangerous.

<sup>631</sup> Prag I 478:1-3; kt 87/k 552:26f. (courtesy Hecker), cf. note 334.

<sup>632</sup> KBo 9, 28 rev. 2'ff., see Dercksen 2001a, 60 note 11, who also mentions the heading of the very damaged letter KBo 28, 181, but his restoration is uncertain and especially the co-occurrence of *kārum* [*Hattuš*] and the [*ušbūtum ša*] *Hattuš*[š] is very doubtful.

<sup>633</sup> Kt 94/k 354, courtesy Larsen.

<sup>634</sup> Tuhpia did have an Assyrian *wabartum*, which could act as a court, see KTK 107, 13. See for these *ad hoc* judiciary bodies or courts, above II.2.1.

<sup>635</sup> A verbal adjective, which may occur alongside the participle *wāšibūtum*, cf. *wašbūt* GN, ARM 8, 11:9, alongside *wāšibūt ālim*, see CAD A/II, 429, b. The expression is unusual because "the inhabitants of GN" normally is *wašbūt* or *wāšibūt* GN, without *ša*. In another context, according to Dercksen 2004a, 126f., *wašbum* is the designation of a

happen to stay and work in a particular town on a temporary base. It reflects the reality that many Assyrian traders, permanently based in a particular *kārum* or *wabartum*, where they owned a house, travel around and in the course of their trips are regularly staying for some time in a town used as a basis for regional commercial activities. In our letter a distinction between permanent and temporary residents is impossible and of little use. The writers of the letter, agents or transporters traveling with merchandise, simply state the the Assyrian traders of Wahšušana have recently (perfect tense) left the city, so that no trading activities are possible there and they have to find another destination.<sup>636</sup> As a general statement it is remarkable and suggests a specific event, but we don't know what and when, and this makes it risky to consider it a major crisis somehow linked with the destruction of Kanesh.

Another serious event in Wahšušana is mentioned in the letter kt 87/k 40,<sup>637</sup> important enough to become the subject of a letter sent by the ruler of Assur to the plenary *kārum* Kanesh. We read:

*"We hear that native Anatolians and traders (mākirū) are carrying (zabālum) valid records belonging to merchants (tamkāre) out of Wahšušana and that "small men" (šahhurūtum) are buying these all the time in the countryside. Please, as soon as you hear this letter, produce .....(end of the obv., edge and beginning of rev. missing) ... let them buy any tablet belonging to a merchant, which the natives and traders have brought out of Wahšušana, collect [these] tablets and let the owner of these tablets pay you the same amount of silver you have paid (for them) and let them take their tablets (back). And who has bought a tablet, but conceals (katāmum) it and does not bring it before the kārum, or [because] he has [no witness available], does not pay silver, and whose statement [reaches] the City, identify his ..... and then let the City [decide his case]."*

This text describes a serious crisis in Wahšušana, where the archives of the local Assyrian merchants (*tamkāru*) have been plundered and their "valid contracts" are being carried out of the city in large quantities (the verb is used of heavy loads) by native Anatolians and local (Anatolian) traders.<sup>638</sup> The highest authorities in Assur now give instructions on what *kārum* Kanesh should do to get these records back, which apparently are being offered for sale by the thieves and are being bought by junior Assyrian traders.<sup>639</sup> This letter cannot be dated, since it does not contain a single personal name, but it could, theoretically, be connected with the previous one, on the assumption that the departure or perhaps flight of the Assyrian residents of (*kārum*) Wahšušana would have enabled the

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trader who is "present" in the colonies and available for accounting, contrary to who is *laššu'um*, "absent", a trader (returned to and) living in Assur, but this meaning does not fit here.

<sup>636</sup> *panā'um*, "to turn to", always with personal dative for the person(s) one turns to in order to achieve something.

<sup>637</sup> Hecker 2003, 187f.

<sup>638</sup> The noun *mākirum*, from the verb *makārum*, "to trade, barter", is rare. I assume that it refers to local traders, who do not belong to the Assyrian community (somewhat comparable to *pāširum*, used for local retailers). Another occurrence in BIN 4, 2:5, but BIN 4, 73:8, also listed in CAD M/I 129a, *makirši<na>* renders *mahiršina*, "(there is no) market for them".

<sup>639</sup> See also Dercksen 2004a, 238, with note 633. I do not share his opinion that what the "junior traders" did was a "serious crime". They may have acted to reduce the damage by buying the records from the Anatolians and the letter from Assur probably wants to regulate this process, by ruling how they should be refunded by the *kārum* and how the owners could get their records back.



thieves to do their work. It could then be considered an additional piece of evidence for serious troubles which lead to the end of *kārum* Kanesh, also because it is difficult to imagine that such a disaster could have happened in normal times, when the treaty with Wahšušana and its ruler was in force. But we cannot prove this nor exclude the possibility of a purely local crisis, comparable to the "hostilities" in Kanesh (mentioned in kt n/k 1429:14). This letter, at any rate, describes not a sudden catastrophe, but a long process, which must have taken many months, because reports on the events at Wahšušana must have first reached *kārum* Kanesh, then Assur, where the City decided on a strategy to counter them, whereupon its decision was sent back by letter to Kanesh. We have to conclude that thus far the archival texts do not offer us a clue for what happened at the end of the period of level II. We still have three texts dated to the one but last year, 136,<sup>640</sup> and the documentation simply ends with a text dated to the second month of eponymy year 137, which records that Laqipum had given Puzur-Ištar sixteen shekels of silver in the presence of two witnesses. There is no hint of an approaching disaster, but the fact the Kuliya's texts (among which almost no contracts!) were carefully stored in a small niche, under a reed-mat, indicates that felt the need to leave, but may have hoped to come back later.

### 2.3. THE LATER OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

As mentioned above (ch. I, 1.3), the rebuilding of *kārum* Kanesh and the resumption of the trade during *kārum* level Ib must have taken place during the reign of Šamsi-Adad I. We cannot date its beginning exactly,<sup>641</sup> but we must ask what influence the rule of this dominant king might have had on the trade. We can take for granted the king's interest in this prosperous trade, which must have benefited his realm and he may have stimulated it. We know that he was involved in it, perhaps in particular on a diplomatic level, by gift exchange and perhaps in order to secure the position of the traders in Anatolia, since bullae with his seal impressions (probably attached to packets with merchandise or letters) were found at Acemhöyük, together with sealed bullae of Assyrian traders and of the "City Hall of Assur".<sup>642</sup> We may assume that, when the commercial activities of the Assyrians were resumed at the beginning of level Ib, the statute of the Assyrian traders in Kanesh had again to be secured and (to some extent) be redefined by new commercial treaties. And it is tempting to consider the two new level Ib treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum a reflection of these events, which must have

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<sup>640</sup> KTB 14:1-17 mention four payments to its unknown writer of in all 8 minas and 27 shekels of silver, in months IV, V, VI, and IX of year 136. The first payment, made for Atata by his brother, is part of the debt of Atata (who must be dead) which his brother, wife and son, according to TC 3, 250, had promised to pay one year earlier.

<sup>641</sup> Commercial contacts with Anatolia no doubt will have become easier after his conquest of Šubat-Enlil (Apūm, Tell Leilan), which was a road station for Assyrian caravans on the way to Anatolia, and after his defeat of Yahdun-Lim of Mari, in ca. 1797-1795 BC, which meant that no rival was left to interfere with the commercial traffic through the area of the Habur and the Balikh.

<sup>642</sup> See Tunca 1989 and 1993, note 1, and Veenhof 1993, 650ff. It is remarkable that the bullae with this seal impression carry an inscription that states that the packets, apparently without having been opened, were shipped on from Kanesh to Acemhöyük. Whatever the reason for this, it proves that the lines of communication were operative.

fallen in the first half of Šamši-Adad's reign, perhaps not without his interference. This could apply to the treaty with Hahhum, which cannot be dated,<sup>643</sup> but the treaty with Kanesh is of later date, because it mentions "the great king of Kanesh" (see below V.2.1).

Resumption of the Anatolian trade during Šamši-Adad's reign of course raises the question of his and his successor's influence on it. An official first attested during this period in Northern Mesopotamia is the "Overseer of the merchants" (UGULA DAM.GAR). On the basis of *Abb* 8, 15, where we meet a man designated as "the Overseer of the merchants of Šamši-Adad", who calls the latter "my lord", I had suggested that he might have been appointed by the king, in order to check the city's trade and traders, but this was rightly questioned by Charpin and Durand, because there is no evidence for a royal appointment.<sup>644</sup> We also do not know whether he was an official in Assur, though a man in that city would have been well suited for a diplomatic mission to the south (to Maškan-šapir?), in order to establish contact with Rim-Sin of Larsa. Still, this title is new in this area and his designation implies more than an *ad hoc* service to the king. A second occurrence of this title, "Overseer of the traders of Assur", occurs in ARMT 26, 342, from the reign of Išme-Dagan. Both references may reveal an administrative innovation, which could have been introduced by Šamši-Adad I, who must have become familiar with this institution during his stay in in Babylonia. But it is also possible that the trading community of Assur itself, faced with a new, non-Assyrian king, who had already interfered with the institution of the *limum*, had decided to appoint one of their own as their representative and leader, especially in the contact with the palace.<sup>645</sup> According to ARMT 26, 342, during a famine this official tried to secure the supply of barley for Assur by sending a gift to the ruler of Karanā.<sup>646</sup> Charpin and Ziegler<sup>647</sup> assume that he came to play a more political role in a crisis situation, a power vacuum, after Išme-Dagan had fled his country. Whether or not this function was an innovation, stimulated by the king, it clearly was a new feature, but we do not know whether it survived this period. This official at any rate does not figure in the preserved text of the treaty between the ruler of Apūm and the City of Assur, concluded some twenty years later, mentioned below, which only speaks of the city of Assur, travelling Assyrian traders and the *kārum*, he is absent in the texts of the new treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum, and also does not figure in Middle Assyrian documents.

We can to some extent follow the fate of Assur under Išme-Dagan until ca. 1760 BC, thanks to the archives of Mari, which also provide evidence that the city continued to

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<sup>643</sup> Ductus, paleography and orthography allow this, because they are similar to that of tablets of level II, but different from those of the later phase of level Ib, as illustrated in Özgüç 1986, plates 44ff. Hahhum, moreover, though not mentioned in the texts from Mari, was on or near the Euphrates, probably at the site of classical Samothrace, therefore close to the northern border of Šamši-Adad's realm.

<sup>644</sup> Veenhof 1982, 385 and Charpin-Durand 1997, 373f.

<sup>645</sup> This aspect of the function, mediating between the traders (or *kārum*) and the palace, is also attested in Larsa and Sippar. Note also the designation *qaqqad kārīm*, "head of the *kārum*", in *Abb* 1, 36:19.

<sup>646</sup> Charpin-Durand 1997, 373, assume that this also happened because Karanā was an important road station on the caravan route to Anatolia.

<sup>647</sup> Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 236. The text continues by reporting that "all of Assur is trying to exercise control in Karanā" (*uštallat*, line 19), presumably in order to secure the access to barley.

play an important role in the trade in Northern Mesopotamia and beyond.<sup>648</sup> Involvement in Anatolian matters is now also documented by a still unpublished letter, written to king Hurmeli of Harsamna by the Envoys of the City of Assur, in response to a request for military assistance.<sup>649</sup> Išme-Dagan's dynastic capital Ekallātum was not far to the north of Assur and several letters show that he occasionally stayed in Assur and also used its troops in his military operations.<sup>650</sup> He cared for Assur and its cults,<sup>651</sup> and from later Assyrian royal inscriptions we learn that he was active as a builder there.<sup>652</sup> Concern was not only politically sensible, but may have been stimulated by the fact that his wife, called Lamassi-Aššur, was from Assur, perhaps even a girl from the family of rulers ousted by Šamši-Adad I.<sup>653</sup> Assur also shared his political misfortunes, when he had to flee his country and capital three times, in 1771 (when Eshnunna occupied Assur),<sup>654</sup> in 1765, and in 1763 BC.<sup>655</sup>

Išme-Dagan was succeeded as nominal ruler of the city by Hammurabi of Babylon, in ca. 1761 BC, when, according to the name of his 33rd year, he subjugated "various cities of the land of Šubartum and Ekallātum" (the residence of Išme-Dagan), a success which was consolidated by additional campaigns in his 36th and 39th years. It must have included Assur, to judge from a statement in the prologue to his laws (col. IV:53-58), where he expresses his concern for the city and its people.<sup>656</sup> After that, during the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon (1750-1712 BC), the information on the city becomes scarce, although AKL lists a continuous series of rulers.<sup>657</sup> We have evidence for the continued role of Assur as a trading city, both from documents found at Sippar, dating to the early years of Samsu-iluna, and from the treaty concluded around 1740-1735 BC

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<sup>648</sup> See Ziegler 1996 and Charpin-Durand 1997, 376f.

<sup>649</sup> Kt 01/k 217, see C. Günbattı 2004, 249, Albayrak 2004, and Michel 2005a. The king of Harsamna had asked for Assyrian military assistance in a conflict with Zalpa, shortly after the death of Šamši-Adad I and the accession of Išme-Dagan.

<sup>650</sup> See e.g. ARMT 26,411:32, together with troops of Babylon and Ekallātum, under the command of his son Mut-Asqur.

<sup>651</sup> See Charpin-Durand 1997, 372f.

<sup>652</sup> See *RIMA* 1, 95, lines 6ff. It is frequently assumed that when Tiglath-pileser I, in *RIMA* 2, 28, lines 60ff., states that the Anu-Adad temple had been built 701 years before his time by Šamši-Adad son of Išme-Dagan, this is a mistake for Išme-Dagan son of Šamši-Adad (I), though *RIMA* takes the builder to be Šamši-Adad III.

<sup>653</sup> See for her letters P. Marelli, *MARI* 7 (1993) 271-279.

<sup>654</sup> See Ziegler 2002, 238f. with note 114.

<sup>655</sup> See Charpin-Durand 1997, 372 note 43, and Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 198 and 235f., also on the role of Assur's "Overseer of the merchants" during the absence of Išme-Dagan.

<sup>656</sup> The words "who guides the population (*ammi*) properly and who restores its benevolent protective spirit to the city of Assur", whatever they meant in concrete, attest to his respect for this ancient city.

<sup>657</sup> The main recension of AKL, King List 9, after Išme-Dagan lists a usurpator and six kings who ruled for short or unknown periods (*bāb ṭuppišu*). A fragment of a different recension (Grayson 1981, 115, King List 10), mentions as successors of Išme-Dagan his son Mut-Asqur (known from sources from Mari) and a Rimu[š], both of which do not figure in King List 9. AKL also does not include Puzur-Aššur, known from his inscription *RIMA* 1, 77f.

between Till-Abnū, the ruler of Apūm (capital Šehna = Tell Leilan) and Assur.<sup>658</sup> That Apūm's ruler had to swear an oath to "the City of (the god) Assur, the citizens of Assur travelling up or down, and to the *kārum* that is in your city", shows that Assur's institutional fabric (without mention of a king or ruler!) was basically still the same as a century earlier and that trade remained very important.

#### 2.4. THE END OF *KĀRUM* KANESH LEVEL Ib

Not long afterwards written sources from *kārum* Kanesh stop, which effectively marks the end of level Ib. In my reconstruction of the chronology I mentioned that one of the presumably latest year eponyms attested in a text from *kārum* Kanesh was that of Nimar-Kube, who also occurs (as Nim/wer-Kubi) on texts from Tell Leilan. There he is associated with the city's last ruler, Yakun-Ašar, who lost his throne in 1728 BC in consequence of an attack by Samsu-iluna of Babylon, commemorated in the name of the latter's 23rd year.<sup>659</sup> This conclusion is now supported by a new eponym list discovered at Kanesh in 2001 (kt 01/k 287), to be published by C. Günbattı, which offers the names of ca. 120 eponyms after the last one listed in KEL A, which means that it must go down to a least ca. 1725 BC. And this is not necessarily the end of this period, since this list need not date from one of the very last years of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib, which may very well have continued until 1720 BC.

The destruction of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib must have been the result of a military action, and there is sufficient evidence for political tensions in this period. The so-called Anum-hirbi letter mentions a protracted war between king Inar of Kanesh and the city of Harsamna.<sup>660</sup> And this same city, under a king Hurmeli, had a military conflict with Zalpa according to a still unpublished letter (see note 649). There are also stories about military confrontations during this period in the so-called "Anitta Text" and in fragments of legends dealing with Anitta and Anum-hirbi (Anum-herwa), both found at Boğazköy.<sup>661</sup> Miller 2001 has recently shown that Anum-hirbi, king of Mamma (north-west of Maraş), in due time, as indicated by sources from Mari, extended his rule over Zalpa (in Mari Zalp/war, possibly Tilmen Hüyük, west of the Euphrates) and later also over Haššum (perhaps near Gaziantep), which made him a major political player in the South-Anatolian area, perhaps the very king of Zalpa<sup>662</sup> who threatened Hurmeli of Harsamna<sup>663</sup> according to the new letter.

How do these rulers and their military actions fit into this period? As shown by Miller, Anum-hirbi's career, the length of which of course is unknown, falls in the first half of the

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<sup>658</sup> See for the evidence from Sippar, Veenhof 1991, and for the treaty with Apūm, Eidem 1991 and below V.1.B.

<sup>659</sup> See Veenhof 2003, 67.

<sup>660</sup> Balkan 1957, 7, lines 29ff.

<sup>661</sup> See Miller, 2001, 97f.

<sup>662</sup> The request of Assyrian assistance makes it unlikely to think of the northern Zalpa/ Zalpuwa, situated near Bafra.

<sup>663</sup> We do not know the location of Harsamna, which occurs only once in a OA text (from the city-mound (kt g/t 35:30, *ālam Harsamna*), but the town must have become prominent in the course of the level Ib period. In texts from Mari, from the time of Zimrilim, it is mentioned as a source of luxury goods (*aš/alū*) and as a city from which horses could be obtained (Ziegler 1996). The sequence "from Kaniš, Harsamna and Hattuša" in the first letter and the fact that in both cases the commercial contacts started from Karkemiš, suggest a location in Central Anatolia.

18th century BC and the evidence from Mari suggests that it may have ended some years after 1770 BC, which fits a conflict with the ruler of Harsamna in ca. 1775 BC. Since Anum-hirbi mentions the good relations between his land<sup>664</sup> and Waršama's father and predecessor Inar,<sup>665</sup> who ruled at least ten years,<sup>666</sup> the latter must be dated fairly early in the 18th century BC, not long after the beginning of the period of level Ib. And since Inar must have been preceded by king Hurmeli, as shown by kt n/k 32,<sup>667</sup> it is impossible to insert the sequence Pithana - Anitta at the beginning of the level Ib period, so that they must be placed at the end of it. The "Anitta Text" tells us that Pithana, king of Kuššar, conquered Kanesh/Neša, took its king captive, but spared the city. After his death a revolt in Neša would have been put down by his son and successor Anitta, who subsequently made the city his residence. Wars against the northern Zalpa and Hattuša (which was utterly destroyed) are described and it is finally related how he was recognized as "great king", even by the people and ruler of the powerful state of Burušaddum. If we believe the main facts of this story,<sup>668</sup> the conquest of Kaniš by Pithana need not have had a profound effect on the trade and indeed, no hints or references to his conquest have thus far been found in the admittedly not very numerous level Ib texts. Pithana is attested as ruler of Kanesh in the "notarization" of three documents, the divorce TC 3, 214, the slave sale kt n/k 11, and perhaps in the adoption contract kt 89/k 379.<sup>669</sup> He is succeeded by his son Anitta, who already

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<sup>664</sup> Note that he writes "my country" and not "my father", but I am not sure what this might imply.

<sup>665</sup> Mentioned once as king of Kanesh in the so-called notarization of kt n/k 32:49 (with Šamnuman as his *rabi simmiltim*), see below IV.5.1.

<sup>666</sup> That long he warred with Harsamna according to Anum-hirbi's letter.

<sup>667</sup> This unique legal text (see now Dercksen 2004b, 166f.), as shown by Forlanini 1995, most probably records the dissolution of a partnership between an Assyrian trader and two Anatolians, notarized by king Inar of Kanesh and his *rabi simmiltim* (lines 27ff.) The involvement of (*iqqātē*) king Hurmeli and his *rabi simmiltim* (lines 18ff.) must concern the start of the partnership, before the reign of Inar, mentioned as background of the present settlement. The words "both in Mamma and in Kanesh" (lines 20f.) do not mean that the two kings mentioned were kings of these two cities, but indicates the range of action of the partnership (the Anatolian party may have worked in Mamma). In general I agree with the interpretation in Dercksen 2001a, 63, but I doubt whether the traders operated "by order of the Kaneshite king". Taking Hurmeli as king of Kanesh is supported by the fact that his *rabi simmiltim* Harpatiwa occurs, without mention of the king, in the notarization of kt r/k 19 (a divorce) and kt 99/k 139 (a debt-note), and also in OIP 27, 53 :13f., from Amkuwa (here also Kikaršan<sup>1</sup>, priest of Higiša, who also figures as witness in kt n/k 32), which might indicate that Kanesh and Ankuwa at that time were under the same rule. Forlanini suggests that these occurrences of Harpatiwa alone, without being called *rubā'um*, may indicate that he operated in the period between Hurmeli and Inar, perhaps thanks to a coup d'état.

<sup>668</sup> See the summary in Klengel 1998, 27ff.

<sup>669</sup> See for the notarization of legal document by the rulers, below IV.2.5. In kt n/k 11:11ff. I read "He will pay 5 minas of silver 12' *ú i-d[u-ku-sú i-qā-te]* 13' *Pi-it-ha-na* (without *rubā'um*). The reading [*iqqātē Pithan*]a in kt 89/k 379:24 (Donbaz 1993a, 137) is more doubtful, also because the following *rubā'um* is not in the genitive.

figures as his *rabi simmiltim* in TC 3, 214, and occurs as *rubā'um* in kt 89/k 37 (a record of the redemption of a slave). He also occurs in texts from Amkuwa (OIP 27 nos. 1 and 49), both as *rubā'um* and as *rubā'um rabium*, which suggests that both city-states were now united under his rule.<sup>670</sup> This makes it difficult to connect the destruction of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib with Anitta's suppression of a revolt in that city, as told in his text. But his destruction of Hattuša could be connected with the conflagration which spelled the end of level IV in Boğazköy (IVd on Büyükkale and IVa in the lower town, where the Assyrian trading community lived), which then would have taken place before the end of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib.<sup>671</sup> This leaves the question open how and when level Ib of *kārum* Kanesh came to an end. One might try to connect it with the end of Anitta's reign,<sup>672</sup> but there is a complication in the appearance of Zuzu, "great king of Alahzina", attested in two records found at Kanesh.<sup>673</sup> His title does not identify him a king of Kanesh and one might assume that these records were drawn up elsewhere and somehow ended up in Kanesh. But Forlanini has pointed out that there is a clear relation with Kanesh,<sup>674</sup> because two men who appear in kt j/k 625 (one of them Kammaliya, the priest of the storm-god) also turn up in kt 89/k 371, which is "notarized" by Anitta. We can solve this problem by assuming that Anitta was succeeded by the "great king" Zuzu, who might have conquered Kanesh, while (at first?) retaining his original title. This would also explain why Anitta's *rabi simmiltim* Peruwa did not succeed him on the throne.<sup>675</sup>

Lacking many pieces of this historical puzzle, we can only say that this last proposal at present seems to be the solution which takes all available evidence into account. But it would also mean that Zuzu's conquest(?) of Kanesh did not mean the end of level Ib, since legal documents were still produced after he had become the ruler of Kanesh, which leaves the question who was responsible for the destruction of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib open. But it supplies us at least with a rather impressive list of rulers of Kanesh:

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<sup>670</sup> This would be even clearer if we may identify Anitta's *rabi simmiltim* in Amkuwa, Peruwa, from OIP 27, 49:25, with his *rabi simmiltim* in kt 89/k 371:27f., from Kanesh, called Peruwa-Kammalia. See for rulers of Amkuwa during the level II period, Larsen 1972, on KTK 10, and also kt n/k 1374:8ff, and the nisbe *Amkuwāium* in kt n/k 482:17 and 490:8 (courtesy C. Günbattı).

<sup>671</sup> This is not impossible considering the eponymies found in dated texts from Boğazköy (see for those in the archive of Dāya, Dercksen 2001a, 40, and for the others, Veenhof 1985, 204f.). Ennam-Aššur is attested at Mari, Tuttāya at Tell Rimah, only the positions of Dadia, Edinum, en Zazabum are not certain. Dercksen 2001a, 50 note 60, considers the first two late, but this could still be well before the end of level Ib, which after all lasted at least eighty years.

<sup>672</sup> Anitta's *rabi simmiltim*, Peruwa, is not attested as *rubā'um*, as his successor.

<sup>673</sup> Kt j/k 625 and kt 89/k 369 (see Donbaz 1989a, 84 and 1993a, 143), where his title is written both as *rubā'um* GAL and LUGAL GAL. See below IV.5.1 on nos. 23-27.

<sup>674</sup> Forlanini 1995, 29.

<sup>675</sup> The last line of the new treaty between the Assyrians and Kanesh from the level Ib period (Günbattı, 2004, 253:89) mentions that the ruler of Kanesh was a "great king", therefore, for all we know, either Anitta or Zuzu, but unfortunately his name is broken off. It is anyhow likely that this treaty was concluded because a new king had acceded to the throne of Kanesh, so that the oath had to be renewed.

Hurmeli, Harpatiwa(?), Inar, Waršama, Pithana, Anitta, and Zuzu, certainly enough to fill the ca. eighty years of the level Ib period.<sup>676</sup>

It has been suggested that the end of the Anatolian trade may have been due not only to political turmoil in Anatolia, but also to developments in Mesopotamia. Samsu-iluna's raid in 1728 BC on Šehna (Apūm), a town with a *kārum* and a traditional road station on the way to Anatolia, resulted in destruction (and the end of the written documentation there) and this may have harmed the Assyrian trade. But its impact cannot be established and the new eponym list indicates that the trade on Anatolia and contacts with the colonies there continued at least for another ten years. Other political players may have come in the way of the Assyrians, such as the rulers of Yamhad (Aleppo), who tried to strengthen their grip on northern Mesopotamia, as we know from the texts discovered at Tell Leilan. Some texts also reveal that in these times military security, essential for caravan traffic, could become a problem, as the appearance of people or troops, designated as *habbātum*, "robbers", shows.<sup>677</sup> But we do not know details and the possible effects of these developments are difficult to assess. They can, moreover, not be isolated from the more general picture of Assyrian trade during the level Ib period, in which the Assyrians anyhow were much less prominent and important, as the small number of written documents (ca. 350, and part of these concern Anatolian people) already indicates. Dercksen, on the basis of his analysis of the texts from Amkuwa and Hattuš, concludes that "the extent of the area covered by the Assyrian trading network of level Ib seems to have decreased and this must have affected the trade in a negative way. Except for the remaining wealthy traders<sup>678</sup> a general impoverishment is discernable, expressing itself not only in the volume of the merchandise, but also in the number of cases where Assyrians had been detained by a native creditor for insolvency". When *kārum* Kanesh level Ib came to an end Assur itself, as indicated by AKL, was already in a "dark period", marked by political confusion. The decline and end of the profitable Anatolian trade must have had a very negative effect on what was a typical trading centre and it may well have contributed to its crisis, but we lack textual data to prove it.

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<sup>676</sup> Since native Anatolian records that mention the local kings are not dated, we can only speculate about the lengths of the reigns of these rulers. Only prosopography, which occasionally may provide a link with Assyrian records of this period, may provide some clues.

<sup>677</sup> See Dercksen-Donbaz 2001 on kt 98/k 11, which mentions problems on the roads and a rebellion of *habbātum*, used as auxiliary forces in these times and attested as such in texts from Tell Leilan, who now control the mountains.

<sup>678</sup> Such as Eddin-Aššur, the Assyrian member of the partnership described in kt n/k 32 (see above note 517), which was to trade in silver, gold, iron cups, tin textiles, slaves and lapis lazuli, both in Kanesh and Mamma - K.R.V.

## IV. THE ANATOLIAN SCENE

### 1. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE

Trade on and in Anatolia and the creation of network of trading stations there must be understood within the framework of its economic and political landscape.

Our knowledge of the economy is restricted, because most records reflect the commercial interests of the Assyrians, as sellers of imported tin, textiles, lapis lazuli, and iron, as traders in Anatolian wool, copper and iron, and as buyers and exporters of silver and gold. In doing so they also document commercial contacts with their Anatolian customers, buyers, sellers and debtors and provide some information on the native economy. But these transactions concern a rather specific sector of it, mainly that of the elite of Anatolian businessmen, officials and the palaces. And they usually show less concern for these customers than for issues of transport, cost and yield, unless problems encountered are the occasion for providing a little more background information. Frequently this information is rather general - political unrest, trouble, travel suspensions, and disturbance of the market.<sup>679</sup> But there are also purely Anatolian records which provide more insights, especially those which belonged to or dealt with Anatolian merchants and money-lenders, which document loans and debts, frequently of grain but also of silver and copper, some consumptive loans, others reflecting local trade and credit. Some mention the securities agreed upon (pledging of family members, houses and occasionally fields) and the consequences of default, which could lead to forfeiture or formal sale of fields,<sup>680</sup> houses and people. Some records shed more light on Anatolian society and economy, especially those from a few Anatolian archives that document family law, but unfortunately, only selected documents have been published.<sup>681</sup>

The nature of the goods traded by the Assyrians did not ask for regular contacts with the rural population and their subsistence economy, which was based on agriculture and herding. Trade in wool, acquired in particular and at times in enormous quantities in the area south-east of Kanesh,<sup>682</sup> implied contacts with the country-side, but the large

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<sup>679</sup> See II.2.6 for revolts (*sahā'um*, *sihitum*), hostilities or war (*nukurātum*), the events called *sikkātum* and *sukurtum* (see CAD S s.v.); note also kt 94/k 1002:5 (*mātum dalhat*). See for disturbance of the market, Veenhof 2003d, 105ff. (with earlier literature). There are also cases where due to conflicts a palace detains traders and does not let them depart freely (*waššurum*), and there is an awareness that trade is impossible when the country is busy with the harvest (*ešādum* or *ebūrum*, TC 3, 3:22f.; BIN 4, 39:7ff.)

<sup>680</sup> A conditional sale in kt 84/k 169, analyzed in Bayram-Veenhof 1993, 92ff.; a (forced) sale in kt o/k 52 (four fields and an orchard, with shared use of the available irrigation water, see Albayrak 2001), fields pledged in kt k/k 31 (courtesy Hecker) and kt f/k 84 (silver borrowed in exchange for holding fields, *ana eqlātim kuta'ulim*).

<sup>681</sup> Interesting texts are found in the groups kt d/k, some of which were published in Balkan 1974 and 1979, and in kt f/k, the archive of Peruwa. See for native archives also Veenhof 1978, Donbaz 1988a (kt n/k), and Albayrak 1998, 2001 (texts from kt o/k), and 2006 (texts of Peruwa, son of Šuppibra).

<sup>682</sup> See for this trade now Dercksen 2004a, 183ff. Amounts of hundred and more kilos are not rare, and the biggest amount seems to be in kt 94/k 1482, 65 talents or more than two and a half tons.



amounts of wool and the communal or collective nature of transactions imply that the Assyrians dealt primarily with the local elite, entrepreneurs and institutions, among which also the palaces.<sup>683</sup> Anatolian agriculture was important both on a subsistence level and for the local trade and this is reflected in the regular occurrence of phases of the agricultural year as due-dates in Anatolian debt-notes, which range from the time of ploughing and seeding (*erāšūm*) to the picking of the grapes (*qitip kerānim*). The festivals of the gods, which also served as dates for payments, probably were also mainly of an agricultural nature (see VI.2.1). There are also several Anatolian officials with titles of the type "head of .... / upper ...." (*rabi* + noun in the genitive), several of which refer to agriculture and husbandry and mention barley, vegetables(?), oil, the threshing floor,<sup>684</sup> gardeners, herdsmen, and oxen (see below VI.1). Still, our knowledge of the countryside, of the villages, farmers and tenants who produced the staple crops, is rudimentary. Dercksen 2004b has now analyzed textual evidence on villages and estates belonging to the urban elite and the palace, among which those given out by the king to his officers.<sup>685</sup>

The Assyrians apparently bought what they eat and drank,<sup>686</sup> together with the olive oil, the firewood and other products they needed, from the local population, probably through the intermediary of local traders. For that reason they must have considered the acquisition and exploitation of fields a bad investment of time, money and labor in the very season they could travel and trade,<sup>687</sup> but they may have occasionally acquired them when an Anatolian debtor, whose fields had been pledged, defaulted,<sup>688</sup> and there are rare references to the purchase of a garden.<sup>689</sup> Illustrative of their attitude is perhaps kt a/k 583, where an Anatolian palace,<sup>690</sup> which is long overdue in paying the enormous amount of twelve tons of copper, offers to put at the disposal of the

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<sup>683</sup> Dercksen 2004a, 189f. mentions the involvement of an important figure, called Ušinalum, who supplied large amounts of wool, as documented in texts from the kt 94/k archive, which is studied by Larsen.

<sup>684</sup> We even have a "chief of the workers of the chief of the threshing floor" (*rabi šābim ša rabi adrim*), witness of a transaction involving the transfer of pledged fields (kt k/k 31).

<sup>685</sup> He discussed in particular *tuzinnum*, a type of land belonging to a house with a service obligation (managed by the so-called "lords of the *tuzinnum*", "the persons responsible for making the tenants perform an obligation connected with the fields") and *ubādinnum*, a land-grant made by the king and consisting of houses and land, probably with its tenants.

<sup>686</sup> See for a documented overview Michel 1997a, "à table avec les marchands paléo-assyriens".

<sup>687</sup> There is no proof for a possible prohibition of acquiring fields by Assyrians, suggested by Kienast 1984, 5 ("staatsrechtliche Hintergründe?").

<sup>688</sup> It may have been different with gardens, perhaps adjoining houses. In kt 94/k 125:5ff. (courtesy Michel), in an agreement on an inheritance, an Assyrian promises his brother that he will not claim the other's "house, garden and furniture in Tawinia", since the latter paid their father's debts.

<sup>689</sup> KTS 34a18ff., letter of Elalī, "I bought a garden, send me the silver for the tin which you collected" ("garden" is spelled *ki-ra-am*, but *ki-ri-am* in line 25).

<sup>690</sup> The text (line 8) speaks of *ekallum u te ʿerātušu*, "the palace and its officials" (with *te ʿertum* for *bēl te ʿertim*), the passage quoted (17-21) reads: *eqlātim u kiriātim ša 20 mana kaspim u eliš ekallum iš[akka]nam ezzibšinama atabbīama atallakam*.

Assyrian creditor "fields and orchards for a value of 20 minas of silver or even more". But he states that he will not accept them and will leave.

The movement of goods, both those imported from Assur and those of Anatolian origin and exported to Assur or traded inside Anatolia, was conditioned by economic factors of transport, supply and demand, and information one the latter two was available thanks to the commercial network and efficient communication. The Assyrians needed markets where they could sell and buy at good rates of exchange, either directly or by indirect exchange, in order to acquire the silver and gold which were their goal. The large area covered and the geography of Anatolia, with its mountain ranges and rivers, made transport facilities for heavy and bulky goods such as tin, copper, textiles and wool, essential. The caravans used roads, passes, river crossings (*nēbartum*), bridges (*titurum*), road stations and lodgings or karavanserais (*bēt ubrim*) for donkey caravans and porters, and in certain areas even wagons for transport of copper.<sup>691</sup> But political factors were equally important, because trade in a foreign land, where it could not follow the flag, required arrangements for the protection of people and goods, both during caravan trips and in the places where the Assyrians settled, in combination with sufficient freedom of movement to exploit the commercial possibilities. Political disturbances inside Anatolia always created problems and dangers and they are mentioned in letters, because the relevant information (regularly introduced by the words "I hear by rumor", *aštanamme*) is passed on for the benefit of caravans, which may choose a different destination or decide to keep their merchandise for the timing being in stock.

The use of the words "Anatolia" and "land" simplifies matters, because neither from the economic nor from the political point of view was Anatolia one land. It was, not surprisingly considering its geography, politically fragmented into a fair number of states, many presumably city-states, but some also small territorial states with a dominant capital. They were ruled by kings (called *rubā'um*), occasionally by queens (*rubātum*), who headed a palace organization that employed workers and craftsmen, and also counted a number of important officials, notably the *rabi simmiltim*, "the chief of the stairway" (at times the crown-prince), the *rabi sikkitim*, presumably a man with military tasks, but also involved in the trade, and the *rabi huršātim*, the one in charge of the stores (see below VI.1.1). Political arrangements in the form of treaties (the texts speak of "oaths", *mamitum*) therefore had to be made with many rulers and since such oaths by nature only bound those who swore them, they had to be renewed when there was a change of rule. Our knowledge of such treaties, for many years derived from recurring patterns in the contacts between the Assyrians and the local palaces and from letters that report on problems arisen, has now considerably increased. After first the report on and quotation of a treaty with a minor town, presumably in Southern Anatolia, had been published,<sup>692</sup> we now have the text of two treaties, concluded with Hahhum and Kanesh, from the level Ib period, which will receive special attention in V.2.

The economic landscape was far from uniform and we have to distinguish the areas important for the supply of and trade in silver, copper and wool. The sale of imported textiles does not show a particular geographical pattern; they apparently were always in demand and probably could be sold wherever there was an elite who could afford these expensive products. The palaces regularly acquired textiles by collecting the five percent import tax (*nishatum*) on them and by using their right to pre-empt another ten percent (called "tithe", *īsrātim*, or *ša šimim*, "those to be bought").<sup>693</sup> With many caravans a year the total figure could become substantial and we see that palaces

<sup>691</sup> See Dercksen 1996, 64ff.

<sup>692</sup> Kt n/k 794, see below V.1, under C.

<sup>693</sup> See for this system Larsen 1967, 156ff. and AOAT 85f.

regularly do not buy the full ten-percent they were entitled to. Palaces and their officials bought textiles on other occasions too and, to give an example, kt 94/k 1128 registers how in all "95 textiles have been deposited in the palace", presumably in the framework of a collective transaction. In a remarkable letter, kt 89/k 207 (courtesy Kawasaki), two Assyrians write: "Here we made inquiries concerning the situation in Wahšušana and (we learned that) the gentleman needs many textiles for his country, so that the people are constantly worried about entering (the city)."<sup>694</sup> The local ruler may have needed textiles not only for commercial purposes, but also to meet his obligations and keep his servants and officers content, because textiles, as already the archives of Ebla show and the texts from Mari document, were a traditional and preferred royal gift. They were also used in this way by Assyrian traders who wished to maintain good relations with rulers and officials,<sup>695</sup> and the writer of the letter TC 1, 39 (CMK no. 92) tells us in lines 20-2:

*"I entered Tuḫpia and somewhat later, in accordance with your instruction, I brought (našā'um) the ruler a thin textile and a garment as present and, separately, I also produced ten textiles and iron. He returned the iron and the textiles, but accepted the present (erbum) with the words, 'I do not take (the rest)'. For the present which I brought him, they brought down (from the palace)[.....] minas of copper ....".*

Puzzled by the question how Anatolia could absorb thousands of expensive woolen textiles, it has also been suggested that part them were exported again, to east and west, but evidence is still lacking.

Several mines must have produced silver and it was current all over Anatolia for making payments and extending loans. But the Assyrian sources show that it was in particular available in the areas south and south-west of Kanesh, especially in Burušhaddum (which has been designated as the main silver market), and it presumably originated from the Bolkardağ mining area in the Central Taurus, south of Niğde. Assyrian trade in wool and copper may in part have been due to the fact that in other areas of Anatolia less (cheap) silver was available, so that indirect exchange of the goods imported, using the caravan donkeys the Assyrians had at their disposal, became a way of ultimately acquiring silver and gold elsewhere. Tin was imported from Assur because it was needed in Anatolia for the production of bronze and one would expect it to be shipped to and sold in the copper mining areas. Those which were relevant for OA trade are concentrated in the north, most probably in the areas of Cankırı, to the east of Tokat and around Trabzon,<sup>696</sup> but there is still uncertainty about their relative importance, because the location of the main copper market, Durhumit, is disputed.<sup>697</sup> Dercksen

<sup>694</sup> Lines 7f. *awilum ana mātišu ṣubātē mādūtīm hašah*.

<sup>695</sup> The term used is *niš'um*, "that what is brought", cf. *El* 150:6, two textiles "presented *ana ni-iš-e-im* (sic) when the queen of Wahšušana entered (the town)", and many texts registers that textiles "were brought" for such purposes. Note BIN 6, 23:20, where a trader writes, "By the five textiles I am bringing him he (the afore mentioned *rabi sikkitim*, who owes him silver) will become ashamed, so that I can recover my silver" (*ibāšma kaspi ašallah*).

<sup>696</sup> See Dercksen 1996, 255, map B. There were also copper mines around Ergani, near Elazığ, but there is no evidence of Assyrian trade with the mining area there, nor of transport and sale of tin there, nor of export of copper from Ergani to Assur, which seems to have obtained its copper from the south.

<sup>697</sup> The traditional location, defended by Dercksen, is southeast of Ankara, on or near the Kızılırmak, but there is also a suggestion to locate it much more to the northeast, near Tokat.

1996, 43ff., collected data which indicate where copper was mined, refined or traded and presented a list of qualifications in the form of a *nisbe* used of copper or of *ša* + place-name. The former, which presumably refer to the origin and quality of the copper, refer to Haburata, Ištanuwa, Kunanamt, Tapašatta, Taritar and Tišmurna, which, as far as there are indications for their location, mostly point to northern Anatolia. The latter, e.g. *ša* Burušhattim, *ša* Waššania and *ša* Nenašša, which refer to cities outside the copper mining areas, presumably mean copper produced locally by refining.<sup>698</sup>

The geographical pattern of the tin trade, as far as we can trace it,<sup>699</sup> was not simply one of massive transports to the named copper mining areas. Tin was shipped to Durhumit and other northern cities, but also regularly transported elsewhere, often by agents who had received it in consignment, to be sold even for copper. It is also remarkable that Assyrians did not trade in bronze, as one might have expected if they were the regular suppliers of tin to the copper mines and the latter produced bronze. Copper was in wide circulation, also as a form of "money", and most of the textual evidence deals with Assyrians<sup>700</sup> who acquired it (also in exchange for wool), at times in enormous quantities,<sup>701</sup> tried to convert poor into refined copper,<sup>702</sup> and shipped it to various cities to sell it for silver,<sup>703</sup> by way of transactions in which frequently also the local palace was involved. This suggests the existence of a local bronze production in many places and Dercksen 1996, 151, assumes that there was not so much an industrial production of ready bronze for trade, but rather a local production by the coppersmiths who manufactured bronze objects, partly on demand. Workshops, tools and moulds, discovered in *kārum* Kanesh, fit this pattern.<sup>704</sup> It must have happened also for or even under the control of the local palaces, which needed bronze tools and

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<sup>698</sup> In CCT 2, 13:6 there is mention of "10.000 (minas of) copper of Burušhaddum, which the palace gave him", but we do not know how it had acquired this huge amount.

<sup>699</sup> We lose track of much of the tin after its arrival in Anatolia. Part of it was bought by the palaces, but we have no information on how they used it. Much was entrusted traveling agents who signed debt-notes that obliged them to pay in due time its price in silver, but we do not know where they went. Sales to Anatolians only yielded written evidence if they were credit-sales.

<sup>700</sup> But Anatolian retailers (*pāširum*) were also active, see AOAT 138 with note 238, and Dercksen 1996, 120 and 127.

<sup>701</sup> See the list in Dercksen 1996, 209ff., where we meet several lots of more than 10 talents (360 kg.), and even quantities of fifty talents or more (73 in BIN 4, 199:10; 98 in Prag I 471:1f.; and 105 in kt u/k 4:13). The weight of large quantities was also given in simple numbers, which mean the number of minas, "pounds", and we have cases of four and ten thousands pounds (CCT 2, 13:5f., nearly 5 tons), and kt 94/k 917 even mentions amounts of 16.000 and 30.000 pounds.

<sup>702</sup> This operation was called *ana dammuqtim ta''urum*, "to convert into good copper" and (*weriam dammuqam*) *ka''unum*, "to secure" by means of conversion, see Dercksen 1996, 53ff.

<sup>703</sup> In ATHE 32 Amur-līstar reports that a local palace (the name of town is not mentioned) had sold a lot of copper to traders from Ebla, who paid for it with good silver. When, in ten days, the palace will be without copper, he will sell the copper he has in store (after having sold his tin for copper) for silver (he writes "I will buy silver").

<sup>704</sup> See for moulds Dercksen 1996, 233, and for workshops and tools Özgüç 2003, 109ff. and 242ff.

weapons, to judge from the Anatolian title "chief of the blacksmiths" (*rabi nappāḫē*)<sup>705</sup> and the fact that palaces frequently appear as holding large stocks of this metal. Trade in copper, which was not exported to Assur, for the Assyrians meant buying in areas where it were readily and probably cheaply available, so sell it eventually elsewhere, at times after having refined it, for silver and gold, which was shipped back to Assur. If successful, it could mean added profit, though at the cost of more traveling and multiple transactions, which required energy and were only possible thanks to the extended network of trading settlements. It seems clear that some traders were much more active in the trade in wool and copper than others, probably also depending in which areas their operations were concentrated. It would be interesting to find out whether the trade in copper (and wool) developed in connection with the expansion of the Assyrian trading network, which penetrated into areas where less silver was available, but enabled them to keep goods in store or ship them elsewhere, where (according to information received from colleagues) the possibilities for sale were better. It is anyhow likely that the transport capacity the Assyrians had at their disposal in the form of caravan donkeys, after their original loads of tin and textiles had been sold, was an important factor in the trade in copper and wool. And the occasional renting of wagons shows how they tried to cope with the problems of transporting heavy loads of copper.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>705</sup> See below VI.1.1. Kt 94/k 208:28ff. registers a payment to a smith "who forged iron in the palace". See for the coppersmith Dercksen 1996, 71f., who points out that alongside Anatolians also a few Assyrian smiths were present in Kanesh (Puzur-Anna, see Sturm 2001, 477ff.; Ennānum, kt 94/k 292:2 and kt m/k 110:7; and Šalim-bēli in kt 94/k 438 :16f.).

<sup>706</sup> See Dercksen 1996, 64ff. Note TC 2, 18: 7ff., which informs us that absence of demand for copper in Buruṣhaddum led to the decision not to hire wagons and to use, in due time, donkeys for its transport. The use of wagons must have been restricted to rather flat areas, such as the valley of the Kızılırmak, and this may have implications for the location of Durhumit, where wagons could be used (KTS 3b:7ff.).

2. CITIES, RULERS AND ASSYRIAN SETTLEMENTS

2.1. A LIST OF THE MAIN CITIES, RULERS, LANDS, AND ASSYRIAN SETTLEMENTS

As a basis for the following observations I present an alphabetical table of the main cities, nearly all of which - not (yet?) attested for Luhusaddia and uncertain for Ninašša - had an Assyrian *kārum* or *wabartum*, with information whether their ruler, palace or land is attested. The numbers 1 and 2 are for references dated to or contemporary with *kārum* Kanesh level Ib or II; the last column offers some rare or new references. The publication data of the texts whose excavation numbers (omitting "kt") I mention can easily be found with the help of the lists in Michel 2003c, 61ff. Additional references and other observations are presented below, per number. Data in Nashef 1991 are not repeated unless they are rare or require comments. Many references in the texts to "the ruler" and to "the palace" cannot be linked with a particular city and new texts will certainly bring additional data.

Separately I list references which link particular products, especially wool, textiles and copper, with an Anatolian city by means of *ša*, which in many cases denotes a product (produced in or fashioned according to the local technique or style) of a particular town, comparable to Assyrian *ša Akkidi'ē*, "Akkadian", *ša Šubirim*, "Subarean", and even *ša ālim*, "Assyrian" (see AOATT 181ff.). But *ša* GN may also mean "stored, available in GN"<sup>707</sup> With metals the reference may be not to the mining area, but to the town where they are refined, alloyed or offered for sale.<sup>708</sup>

copper	Burušhaddum, Durhumit, Haburata, Ištanuwa, Kunanamit, Nenašša, the "land S/Šawit", Tapašatta, Taritar, Tišmurna, Tuhpia, and Washania. <sup>709</sup>
oil	Hahhum, CCT 4, 18a:26; Kanesh, KTS 2, 31:19.
<i>allānu</i> , "acorns"	Hanaknak, kt 94/k 1625:1f.
<i>buṭnāmu</i> , "pistachios"	Burušhaddum, <i>Studies Veenhof</i> , 130, 16 (nisbe, Mari).
wool	Hahhum, Hurama, Luhusaddia, Mamma, Timilkia <sup>?</sup> . <sup>710</sup>
<i>textiles</i>	Hahhum, KUG 13:20; Garelli 1964, 59, no. 4:5 (nisbe).
<i>epattum</i>	Talhat, see AOATT 128f.
<i>kitūm</i>	Tuttul, kt 93/k 196:6 (courtesy Michel).
<i>menuniānū</i>	Mammā, kt 94/k 1465:23.
<i>nibrārū</i>	Zalpa, kt 94/k 734:2f.
<i>pirikannū</i>	Haqa, kt 93/k 60:1f.; Kanesh, kt 94/k 734:6, cf. AOATT 124; Mammā, TC 1, 43:3f.; Zalpa, kt 93/k 59:1f. (courtesy Michel).

<sup>707</sup> "Textiles of Hurama", in KTS 2, 29:14, are textiles first shipped there, see lines 5ff.; note ATHE 63:16ff., "when textiles of (coming from) Zalpa or (sic, *ū*) Hurama arrive".

<sup>708</sup> See references for gold and silver "of Burušhaddum", and "good quality *liti*-silver of Kanesh", in Nashef 1991 s.v. Cities probably always had some kind of textile industry and many may have used local wool, but the areas to the southeast of Kanesh are clearly the main wool producing regions, where the Assyrians bought wool.

<sup>709</sup> See Dercksen 1996, 43ff. The references for Tapašatta are kt n/k 1952:19f. and kt 91/k 390:6).

<sup>710</sup> See AOATT 131f. and for Timilkia, TC 1, 81:44 ("10 shekels of silver (for) 30 minas of wool<sup>1</sup> of Timilkia").

<i>saptinnū</i>	Talhat, kt 94/k 1672:20, see AOATT 128f.; bought in Hahhum, KTS 36c:9ff.
<i>tisābū</i>	Hahhum, kt 94/k 1672:19 (CCT 5, 12a:8f. shows that a <i>tisābum</i> belonged to the category of <i>saptinnū</i> ); Na/ehria kt 94/k 724:2f.

Cities, with their rulers, palaces, "lands", and Assyrian commercial settlements

nr.	city	<i>rubā'um</i>	nisbe	palace	land	<i>kārum</i>	wab.	new and rare references
1.	Amkuwa	1 <sup>a</sup> ,2	2	-	-	-	1,2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> OIP 27,1:1f.; <sup>b</sup> a/k 1070:3
2.	Apum	-	-	-	-	1,2 <sup>a</sup>	-	<sup>a</sup> AKT 2,19:13; n/k 1406:1
3.	Batna	-	1 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 00/k 10, III:27; <sup>b</sup> KTH 3:24
4.	Buruddum	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	2 <sup>b</sup>	-	<sup>a</sup> 92/k 5:6f.; <sup>b</sup> 91/k 171:39
5.	Burushaddum	2	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	2	-	<sup>a</sup> Cole 4:15; <sup>b</sup> KTH 3:23f.
6.	Durhumit	2 <sup>a</sup> ?	-	2	-	1 <sup>b</sup> ,2	-	<sup>a</sup> n/k 1408:5; <sup>b</sup> f/k 183:6
7.	Eluhhut	-	-	1 <sup>b</sup> ,2	-	1 <sup>b</sup> ,2	-	<sup>a</sup> b/k 612:18; <sup>b</sup> kt 00K 10
9.	Hanaknak	-	-	-	-	-	2	k/k 70:1f.; k/k 91:29
10.	Hattuš	2	2	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	<sup>a</sup> n/k 1952:19f.; 92/k 203:5
11.	Hurama	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	1 <sup>b</sup> ,2	<sup>a</sup> m/k 134:4, 18; <sup>b</sup> 82/t 51
12.	Kanesh	1 <sup>a</sup> ,2 <sup>b</sup>	2	2	2	1,2	-	<sup>a</sup> g/t 35:3; <sup>b</sup> KTP 4:13
13.	Karahna	-	-	-	-	-	2	Garelli 1966, 119 no. 47.
14.	Kuburnat	2 <sup>a</sup>	2	-	-	1	2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> m/k 148:75; <sup>b</sup> a/k 403:17f.
15.	Kuššara	-	2	-	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 91/k 145:22
16.	Luhusaddia	1 <sup>a</sup> ,2 <sup>b</sup>	2	2	-	2	-	<sup>a</sup> n/k 76:13; <sup>b</sup> k/k 51:7f
17.	Mamma	1,2	1,2 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	1,2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> b/k 176:15; <sup>b</sup> c/k 841:23
18.	Na/ehria	-	2 <sup>?</sup>	2	-	2	-	EL 210:2; 86/k 49:25
19.	Nenašša	2	2	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	2 <sup>b</sup> ?	-	<sup>a</sup> TC3, 165:14; <sup>b</sup> 92/k 203:6
20.	Šaladi/uwar	-	-	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> kt t/k 1:9; <sup>b</sup> KTH 16A:22
21.	Šalahšuwa	1 <sup>?</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	1	-	2 <sup>b</sup>	-	<sup>a</sup> KTK 64:16; <sup>b</sup> 91/k 148:35
22.	Šamuha	-	-	2	-	2 <sup>?</sup>	1,2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> TPAK 182:2; VS 26, 195
23.	Šimala	-	-	-	-	2	-	a/k 503:1f.
24.	Šinahutum	2	-	-	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 89/k 387b:5; k/k 63:
25.	Šuppilulīa	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 94/k 486:17; <sup>b</sup> O 3684:30
26.	Tawinia	1 <sup>?</sup> a,2 <sup>b</sup>	2	-	-	1 <sup>?</sup> a,2	-	<sup>a</sup> f/k 183:4, 7; <sup>b</sup> n/k 388:7
27.	Tegarama	-	-	2	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>?</sup> b	<sup>a</sup> k/k 57:18; <sup>b</sup> r/k 1:1 <sup>?</sup>
28.	Timilkia	2	1, 2	-	-	2	1 <sup>?</sup> ,2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> n/k 1818:3; 94/k 502:3
29.	Tišmuma	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	2 <sup>b</sup>	-	<sup>a</sup> n/k 482:7; <sup>b</sup> a/k 1429:23
30.	Tuḫpia	2	-	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 92/ k203:6; <sup>b</sup> KTK 107:13
31.	Ulama	-	2	-	-	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> m/k 137:26; 94/k 340:18
32.	Upē	-	-	-	-	-	2	AKT 3, 55-57
33.	Uršu	-	-	-	-	2	-	CCT 1, 6b:12; SUP 7
34.	Ušša	-	-	-	-	-	2	v/k 164:5
35.	Wahšušana	2	2	2	2 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>?</sup> ,2	-	<sup>a</sup> KTP 10:23
36.	Wašhanīa	2 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	2	-	1 <sup>b</sup>	2	<sup>a</sup> KTP 14:5; <sup>b</sup> n/k 27b:29
37.	Zalpa (South)	-	-	2	-	2	-	Chantre 11:4; BIN 6,167:9
38.	Zalpa (North)	-	-	2 <sup>?</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	2 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup> 91/k 149:22
39.	Zimishuna	-	-	-	-	-	2	AKT 2 p. 38; 91/k 212:19f.

## 2.2. COMMENTS ON THE TABLE

1. See for data on Amkuwa, Dercksen 2001a, 41f. Note kt n/k 1374:10f. (*Cecen*, 1990b), *šiprum ša Amkuwā u ša rubā'im ituramma umma Amkuwāiuma*, related is kt

n/k 482:17 (nisbe). See for the possible attestation of a queen and a *rabi simmiltim* of Amkuwa in OIP 27, 5:13, the comments on 21, Šalahšuwa

2. Frequently identified with Tell Leilan, but since in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC, the city under the names Šubat-Enlil and Šehna, counted as "capital of the land of Apūm", Apūm may have been the earlier, still unidentified capital of the land, to be located in the same general rea. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century B Tell Leilan harboured an Assyrian *kārum* according to a treaty concluded between the city of Assur and the king of Apūm (Eidem 1991), dated to ca. 1745 B.C. The city was an important road-station for Assyrian caravans, see Nashef 1987, nos. 24:6, 25:25 and 31:12, and see for further information Nashef 1991 s.v., to which we can now add kt g/k 220:6 (Günbatı 2002, 81, in the sequence Assur, Apūm, Haqa), while in Prag I 804:9 (in the sequence Qaṭṭara - Apia - the steppe [*kaša'um*] - the river (the Euphrates) - Timilkia) the city appears as Apia. Note BIN 4, 124:12ff., a gift for a libation (*kirrum*) to the dagger of Aššur in Apūm.

3. Town in Northern Mesopotamia, situated between the Ephrates and the Balikh, south-west of Urfa, near Sūrūc, see AOAT 243 and 293f. Its name lived on in Roman Batnaer (see A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* (BAH t. 18, Paris 1934), map and p. 148). A ruler of Batna is mentioned in the treaty with Hahhum (kt 00/k 10, I [III]:27) as a possible enemy of Hahhum. KTH 3 shows that the town also had a *barullum*-official. Payment of *nishatu*-tax in Batna and Zalpa is mentioned in BIN 6, 245:2'-5'. The town also occurs in kt 91/k 451:2 (loss of textiles in B.), kt 91/k 465:22, and kt 94/k 219:34.

4. Kt 92/k 5:4Šff. report on a trader who traveled to Buruddum and wrote from there: "The palace treats me with contempt" (*massuhum*). The reference in kt 91/k 171:39 to a *kārum Bu-ru-dum* is at the end of a testimony about a confrontation between Aššur-massu'ī and Pūšu-kēn about the payment of the price for a house in Kanesh, and one wonders why the witnesses of this confrontation were summoned by *kārum* Buruddum and whether this might not be a mistake for Burūshaddum. But the *kārum* is also attested in kt n/k 1730:4f. The occurrence of a "ten-men board" (*ešartum*) of Buruddum in CCT 3, 36a:1 shows that there was an Assyrian presence there and we have good evidence for the town as an important road-station for caravans leaving for Anatolia<sup>711</sup>, where people could meet and handle legal affairs. The town, also known from the Mari texts, is usually located in the area of Mardin, not far from Eluhhut and this is now confirmed by the inscription on the victory stela of king Daduša of Eshnunna (*BaMit.* 34 [2003] 146) col. X:12ff., where he claims a victory in the north ("above" *eliš*), in the land Šubartum, from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluhtum until the mountain Diluba and the mountain *Lullum*.

5. A *rubā'um rabium* (written GAL) presumably in TTC 27:7 (no comments in RA 80, 1986, 128), and a *rubā'um* in AKT 3, 79:13; no nisbe attested. See for this important city also Garelli 1989 and for its remarkable absence from texts from level Ib, Dercksen 2001a, 61.

6. The presumably single reference to the ruler is in kt n/k 1408:5 (courtesy Çeçen, reference Dercksen), where the *kārum* of the town writes to a trader: "If you carry with

<sup>711</sup> Buruddum (nearly twenty attestations, also in kt 94/k 414:7 and 14) occurs as a road-station (Nashef 1991, 28f., equates it with Baraddum, discussed in Lewy 1956, 22, with note 95) in a passage in an unpublished text (Nashef 1987, 37, 19), which records wages for caravan personnel from Buruddum to Hahhum and from Hahhum to Timilkia, which suggests a location within the Euphrates bend. Evidence for Burudum as a town where caravans leaving for Anatolia are assembled is provided by Prag I 550:5, ATHE 46:5 (a caravan leaving the town, read: [*iš*]-*tū* B.), CCT 6, 22a:18, and KTS 2, 43:49. On the other hand, its association with Šimala (CCT 3, 36a and ICK 1, 84:21) might suggest a more northern location.



you letters addressed to either the ruler or to us (*lu ana rubā'im lu <a>-ni-a-ti*), send them ahead"; the palace occurs in kt 94/k 1124:8, where the palace takes the *nishatu*-tax of textiles brought to the city. The rarity of both and the absence of even a single reference to "the land of Durhumit", considering the importance of the town, is remarkable. The seal of the *kārum* in CTMMA 97:2. See for this city Michel 1991a. Note interest *kima awat kārim* D., kt 91/k 390:9, and "the market/rate of exchange of D." in kt n/k 661:7ff. and 91/k 181:16, both in relation with the trade in copper. See for the important role of this city in the copper trade Dercksen 1996, 12ff., 129, 138, 154f. Envelopes with the text "Seal of *kārum* Durhumit" are listed in Hecker, 2003, 193f. For the identification of the city it is important to note that Kt 91/k 437:22f. mentions a small payment for "the crossing" (*nēbartum*) of a river near this city (Veenhof 2006b, 779) and that several texts show that wagons could be used for the transport of copper from it (Dercksen 1996, 64f.).

7. Only one reference for the *kārum*. Nashef 1987, 66 note 45 and 1991, 38f., identifies the town with Luhāya, attested as a caravan stop in the Khabur Triangle in BIN 4, 191:2 and 14 (payments to a *sibum*, "elder", in and for an escort *ša Luhāya*, and in TC 2, 57:17ff. (expenses made because "people from Luhāya had stolen a donkey in Abru"). But texts from Mari also know both an Eluhhut and a Luhāya, the latter presumably identical to Ulāyūm, to be located not far from Talhāyūm (see Durand 1998, 270 note a, and Forlanini 2004, 407, notes 11f.). Eluhhut, also attested in kt m/k 3:34, has been located by Mari specialists in the northern part of the Khabur Triangle, in the area of Mardin, east of Burundum (and cf. Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 116, note 339, following Durand 2000, 454), which agrees with the victory stele of Daduša of Eshnunna (see above on no. 5), which describes his victories in the north, all the way "from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluhutu". While some consider an even more northern location, near the Upper Tigris, in the area of Tigananum, H. Waetzoldt (*Studies Oelsner*, 532) opts for a more western location, in the area of Viranşehir. The other OA references, including Michel 1987 no. 61:5, "from Eluhhut [until ....]", are not informative.

8. In CCT 4, 30a:13 the ruler of this city is designated as LUGAL, the equivalent of *rubā'um*, which thus far occurs only in the unpublished text kt b/k 612:18, mentioned in Balkan 1957, 28. The *rubā'um* who owns a donkey load of *kutānu*-textiles in KKS 2:5f., contrary to what Garelli 1998a, 453, suggests, is not the ruler of Hahhum, but the one of Assur, who had given this merchandise in consignment to a trader. The *nisbe* is only used of a trader (Puzur-Suen *Hahhum*, kt 94/k 153:19f.) and for a type of wool and textiles, also during the level Ib period (but apparently not in KBo 9, 28 rev.2', see Dercksen 2001, 60, note 118), see AOAT 129. Information on the level Ib period, with mention of various officials, is contained in the treaty with this city, kt 00/k 10, see below V.2.2. The *kārum* of level II is well attested; one of its verdicts, with "the seal of *kārum* Hahhum", is kt 94/k 1047. A "ten-men board" of this city occurs in CCT 4, 30a:4, and a *māt Hahhim* is attested in Mari, ARMT 26/2, 547:2. See for this city Garelli 1998b.

9. The *wabartum* also in kt a/k 1258b:34f. (Balkan 1992, 31). Kt k/k 70 is an envelope with the text "Seal of the *wabartum* of Hanaknak" and five different seal impressions (Hecker 2003, 192 note 33). Disturbing is kt 89/k 230:5ff. (courtesy Kawasaki), where it is stated that "as soon as A. and Š. had entered Hanaknak, one seized them in the *bēt kārim*". Did one (by mistake?) call the administrative seat of a *wabartum* also *bēt kārim* (the term \**bēt wabartim* is never used)? Kt 94/ 1128:1f. lists transactions with textiles "when the ruler went to Hanaknak", but it is not clear which ruler it was and what the trip meant (a "state visit" or was the ruler also lord of Hanaknak?). See for the city and its location, Veenhof 2006b, comments on text 1.

10. The ruler occurs in kt 92/ k 194:43f., where the [gift?] of a textile is said to have occurred "when the ruler of Hattuš (*rubā'um Hattušāium*) [went?] to Wašhania and *Ba-ni-ha-ar-si-im* x [.....]", the nisbe alone in KTK 10:8' and kt n/k 211: 6f., "He said: Entrust him to the man of Hattuš (*Ha-tū-ša-im*) and he will take the road the man of Hattuš will tell him, so that he will be safe." <sup>9</sup> He offered him the road to Šuppilulīa and said to him: The man of Šuppilulīa should conduct you to Karahna". Line 25 mentions the queen (*rubātum*) of Hattuš. Note that the nisbe is derived from Hattuš (the only form of the name attested in OA texts) and not from the form Hattuša, which first occurs in texts from Mari. The two new references for *kārum* Hattuš during the level II period make up for the untraceable and for a long period only reference mentioned in Nashef 1991, 58. The city also occurs in kt 89/k 387b:14f. (a letter of the *wabartum* of Šinahuttum), "The men (from Mamma) who stayed in Hattuš have left (going) beyond Hattuš" (*ina ebar Hattuš*). \**Māt Hattuš* does not occur, but the frequent and much discussed *Hattum*, may have substituted for it. According to Dercksen 2001a, 57ff., Hattum *de facto* equalled the area "within the Kızılırmak basin", but Hattum is not (yet?) attested in texts from *kārum* Kanesh level Ib. Note also kt 94/k 1610:19ff., where the alternative for selling textiles in Kanesh seems to be to send them to Hattum and see for shipment of merchandise "to Hattum" also kt 94/k 726:18. Note also kt 94/k 1629 rev 1f., "sundry wares (*sahertum*) of Hattum", kt 92/k 205:9f., *illibbi mātīm ša Hattim*, "in the hinterland of Hattum", kt b/k 54a, where two Anatolians are designated as *ša Hattim* (Balkan 1973, 44), and kt 94/k 760:22f., payment to a guide/escort of Hattim.<sup>712</sup>

11. A ruler of Hurama wrote the letter kt n/k 1024 (courtesy Çeçen), which deals with donkeys, to an Assyrian trader. In kt m/k 134 *kārum* Hurama wrote a letter to *kārum* Kanesh to ask it advice on the contents of an oath (sworn treaty), which the ruler of Hurama (whose palace is mentioned in line 18) had offered/proposed (*tadānum*) them and in which he stated his claim to a share in the textiles and the right "to search the bags" (*narūqqātim naddudum*), to check their numbers or perhaps to select the best pieces. I am not sure whether kt 82 t/51, which mentions a *kārum*, is really contemporary with level Ib of *kārum* Kanesh. Additional references for the *kārum* of level II are kt n/k 1815:5 (deposition), kt 86/k 196:30, kt 91/k 370:27 (*saher rabi*, "plenary"), and kt 94/k 324:6.

12. Note ATHE 62:33-36, "the queen (*rubātum*) has written concerning the smuggling to Luhusaddia, Hurama, Šalahšuwa and to her land (*ana mātīša*)". See for rulers during the level Ib period, below § 5, and see for a reference to a "great [king] of Kanesh" ([LUGAL] GAL *Kanišium*) in the treaty, below V.2.1. In TC 1, 18:42 a caravan leaves Mamma to arrive *ana māt Kaniš*. Kt 87/k 275:11-17 (a slave sale, Hecker, 1998, no. 5) states: "Take her (a slave-girl) either to Hattum or to 'the land', but do not sell her in Kanesh and the land Kanesh". P. answered: "I will bring her across the Euphrates". The nisbe frequently refers to people (traders, messengers, escorts) from Kanesh, but in ATHE 66:9f. to the king: "When my tablet *about* the man of Wahšušana and the man of Kanesh, that they have pronounced the oath, has arrived...". This is probably also the case in kt 87/k 384:32f., "take good care of yourself until the Kaneshite returns". The nisbe also occurs in the combination *āl Kaniši'ē*, "the town of the Kaneshites", in kt 92/k 103:14f. and 108:6, where it refers not to Kanesh, but to a settlement south of Timilkia, hence presumably in the area where the Euphrates was crossed. Both texts (kt 92/k 108 only covers the trip from "the town of the Kaneshites" to Kanesh) list travel expenses in a geographical sequence, in Qaṭṭarā, Hamisānum, Burallum, Birtu'um, *āl*

<sup>712</sup> Remarkable are KTS 1, 8a:4f., "in the city of the Hattians" (*ina ālim ša [H]a-ti-e*), and kt 94/k 1226:18, "with 2 *kutānu*-textiles I clothed the Hattians" (*Ha-tē-e ulabbīš*, cf. TC 3, 161:6, one textile *a-kārim labbušim*). Note that LB 1201:18, contrary to the claim of Levy 1950, 372, has (textiles) *ina dī-tim nad'ū*.

*Kaniši'ē*, Timilkia, Hur(a)ma, Luhusaddia and Kanesh. Since POAT 21:19 and ATHE 63:24<sup>713</sup> show that *Kaniši'ū* is used for traders of Kanesh, the "town of the Kaneshites" could be a (temporary?) commercial settlement on the caravan road founded and used by traders from Kanesh. No data on *kārum* of Kanesh have to be mentioned here; envelopes with the text "seal of *kārum* Kanesh" are listed in Hecker 2003, 191f.

13. Note kt n/k 388:9ff. (Günbatı 1997, no. 2), where the king of Tamnia says: "For your sake I have taken an oath to Karahna ....., on the second day one will bring me the oath of Karahna".

14. A *rubā'um Kuburnatāium* in kt m/k 148:75 (Hecker 2004b, 66) receives a gift, and in kt 93/k 171:3 (courtesy Michel) the *Kuburnatāium* took textiles. The *wabartum* also in kt a/k 465a:8, kt 91/ k 176:21f., kt 92/k 194:3-6, and kt 92/k 200:4 (letter of *kārum* Kanesh to the *wabartums* of Kuburnat, Hanaknak and Tišmurna). The *kārum* of level Ib occurs in kt 98/k 125: 10'-12', together with the "travelers on the road to the City" (Donbaz 2001b, 110). Kt 94/k 636 and 644 (courtesy Larsen) are two letters addressed to this *wabartum* by a *kārum* whose name is missing. The proximity of Karahna is clear from kt 94/k 441:16f., sale of textiles either in Kuburnat, or in Hanaknak, or in Durhumit, and from kt k/k/87:6f., a trader on his way to Kuburnat is instructed to go to Hanaknak. Note also kt 92/k 194:21: *šaddu'utu*-tax levied from Bušia of Kuburnat in Tuḫpia, and Lewy 1950, 438ff.

15. The nisbe occurs in kt 87/547:5, "in the land Zalpa *Ku-ša-[ra-]um maqitniāti*." The address of Nešr. Boğ. 2, a letter of the *wabartum* of Mamma, to be dated to level II, may be restored as: [*ana .... u wa-bar*]-tim *ša Ku-ša-ra*; the alternative, [*be-ru*]-tim, is unlikely, since the body called *beruttum* is only attested for Šaladuwar. But another possibility is to read [*ešar*]-tim, "ten-men board", which has now turned up in kt 93/k 67:2 (courtesy Michel), in the address of a letter written by *kārum* Kanesh *ana 10-tim ša Kuššara*.

16. Kt m/k 144:10 writes *rubā'im Lu-hu-za-ta-im* and a nisbe referring to the ruler also occurs in CCT 2, 48: 36. The palace is mentioned in CCT 4, 19c:18f., where Assyrians, because of the seizure of their textiles, "went up to the palace", where the queen answered their protests. Land and palace together occur in Kays. 1830:7, "Two Assyrians have been killed in the land of L., we went up to the palace, saying: In you land [two] Assyrians have been killed" (see Hecker 1996a, no. 2). The city was important for the trade (especially in wool, see AOAT 131f.; note also kt 87/k 551:7f. "Did you not see that there is much silver in Luhusaddia?"), but there is no evidence yet for an Assyrian *kārum* or *wabartum*. If that is not by accident, it could be the reason why it was the *wabartum* of Kuššara, which according to Kayseri 1830:6f. (Hecker 1996a, no.2) went up to the local palace and the ruler when "two Assyrians had been killed in the land of Luhusaddia" (line 11, "in your land").

17. See for a *rubā'um*, Balkan 1957, 32, kt 86/k 102:5f., a letter by the *wabartum* of Mamma to *kārum* Kanesh, with the information that "the *rubā'u Mamāiu* is out of town" (*waši*, singular!), and kt g/k 51:20f., Mamma is usually looked for in the region of Maras, perhaps a little north of it; Miller 2001, 68ff. settles for "a location between Maras and Göksun". A text from Tell Leilan (Vincente no. 153) mentions a trader Innāya who arrived from Mammā (*Ma-am-ma-ak*<sup>i</sup>).

18. The nisbe in VS 26, 138:3 (*ni-hi-ri-a-e-em*) may well mean the ruler, the palace is attested in KUG 36:5'. Garelli 1965, 42 no. 17: 16ff. records a small gift by a caravan to the *kaššum* of Nehria (see below VI.1.2.2 on this title) and a payment to the local *kārum*; a bag with the seal of this *kārum* is mentioned in kt 93/k 194:9f. In Kays. 5064 prisoners are to be transported to and sold in Nehria, in AKT 1, 77:7f. a man

<sup>713</sup> The palace in Wahšūšan told Assyrians: "When the Kaneshites leave, you too must depart".

married in Kanesh is forbidden to marry a *qadišum* in Kanesh or in Nehria. Note the occurrence of a "Ten-men board" (*ešartum*) of Nehria in *AnOr* 6, 15:2. The town is usually located in the area of Urfa, on the Upper Balikh.

19. Nearly all occurrences of this city and its ruler (several times referred to by a nisbe only) are discussed in Sturm 2000, 499ff. Note also kt a/k 488b, where the *allahhinnum* of Nenaššā bought two *kutānu*-textiles "for the wardrobe of the ruler" (*ša lubuš rubā'im*), and CCT 6, 34a:3-5, where its queen, *bēl mā[im]*<sup>2</sup> and king may occur. It is possible that the queen of ATHE 66:19 is the one of Nenaššā, the goal of the trip according to line 6. From kt 94/k 345:5' (*ina Nenaššā ana nārim*) we learn that the city was on the road to the Kızılırmak, which is confirmed by kt 94/k 1534:20'f., which lists a payment "for the use of/to the man of the bridge" (*ana ša titurrim*) there. There is no mention of an Assyrian settlement, but the address of the official letter kt 92/k 203:4-6, "To *kārum* Durhumit, Hattuš, Tamnia, Tuhpia until (*adi*) Nenaššā", might imply that the city had a *kārum*. The account TC 3, 165:13-19 lists as expenses in this city tax paid to the palace and small gifts to local dignitaries such as the *bēl ālim*, the *kaššum*, the *namrum*(?), the *bēl ha-Dī-tim*, and the *rābišum*, some of which are also mentioned in kt 94/k 1534:20'ff.

20. No ruler, palace or "land", are attested during level II, but a payment to the local *kārum* appears in kt t/k 1:9//25:3 (Sever 1996). The *wabartum* occurs also in kt k/k 122 rev.:1 (summoned witnesses), kt 83/k 117:6, a letter from *kārum* Wahšušana, which reports about "letters sent by the *wabartum* (sic) of Ulama and Šaladuwar", in kt 92/k 195:16, and in kt 94/k 1197:8 (mentions its silver). The existence, during level II of both a *kārum* and a *wabartum*, could reflect a development in the status of the Assyrian settlement. Three letters of *kārum* Wahšušana (TC 1, 32, TuM 1a, and KTK 2) are addressed to the *šaqil dātim u beruttim ša Šaladuwar*, while two others in the same address omit *ša Šaladuwar*, see Müller-Marzahn 2000, 289f. The letters kt t/k 1 and 25 contain useful information on the stops and expenses of a man leading a mule (*perdum*) via Šaladiwar to Wahšušana, which entailed the crossing of a river, probably over the bridge (t/k 25:10). ARM 26 no. 542:22 (a letter sent to Mari from Karkemish) mentions "a golden ring *ša Šal-la-du-wa-ar<sup>ki</sup>*".

21. The palace in OIP 27, 5:9, according to Dercksen 2001a, 43, note 22. Since this letter is addressed to Nabi-Enlil, who lives in Amkuwa, the request to approach the queen and the *rabi simillim* must also refer to Amkuwa, unless the writer, Ennam-Aššur, is writing from far away and asks Nabi-Enlil to go to Šalahšuwā from Amkuwa. The city was not too far from Hurama (see Nashef 1991, 99) and note that while *El* 252 records a confrontation in Luhusaddia, which led to a lawsuit in Hurama, the same confrontation, according to ICK 1, 62:3, took place in *Hurama Ša-<lā>-ah-šu-a*, a unique combination of two place-names. Note for level II, ATHE 62:34, quoted in the comments on no. 12, and a *šiprum Šalahšuwāium* in kt k/k/126:6. See for this city Y. Kawasaki, *NABU* 1996/98, who calls attention to its mineral resources (gold, silver, lead, *su'um*-stone) on the basis of kt 89/k 222 and 267.

22. The *wabartum* is beyond doubt for level Ib, in view of year eponymy of kt b/k 21, and for level II, where it is also attested in kt 94/886:5 and VS 26, 195:3f. (there is no reason to assign this last text to level Ib). The existence of a *kārum* during level Ib, claimed by Balkan 1965b, 155, on the basis of the type of address (*umma šaqil dāti u kārum Timilkia ana kārum Šamuha*) of an unnumbered unpubl. letter, needs more proof.

23. None of the nisbes attested refers to the ruler; the single attestation of the *kārum* shows the limits of our knowledge. CCT 3, 36a, 4 mentions the "Ten-men board" (*ešartum*) of the town. Note for the location, in addition to VS 26, 148, also the sequence Hamišānum - Šimala - Zalpa in kt g/k 199.

24. Kt 89/k 387 is a letter which the *wabartum*, together with two Assyrians, addressed to *kārum* Kanesh. It also occurs in kt 92/k 194:18, where iron under the

seals of *kārum* Durhumit is entrusted for transport in Šinahuttum "before the *wabartum*". Kt 94/k 340 mentions the transport of wool from Šinahuttum to Durhumit. See for the general location of the town in Hattum, Dercksen 2001a, 58f.

25. The *kārum* of level Ib also in Mayer-Wilhelm 1975, no. 2:23, again in conjunction with "the travelers (on the road) to the City" (*ālikū ša harrān ālim*), a text connected with O. 3684, since both concern a summons against Sin-bēli, son of Buluṭ-bēli (sic!). A level Ib date is proved by the mention of the eponymy of Kurkudānum in line 19 of the first text. The town was not far from Hattuš; note also the sequence Hattuš - Šuppilulīa - Karahna in kt n/k 211.

26. The ruler of this city (spelled Tamnia and Tawinia) occurs together with his son in kt n/k 388 (see above on 31) and in kt 94/k 937 (a meeting with the *rubā'um* *Tamniāium* about the payment of blood money). Günbattli 2001, 158f., reacting on Michel-Garelli 1996a, 282ff. and discussing the location of the city and the evidence on its ruler, suggests that kt f/k 183 (Balkan 1955, 73 note), a letter addressed to *kārum* Kanesh, which mentions the "messengers of *kārum* Durhumit", assigned by Balkan to level Ib on the basis of its find spot, is also from level II, which would leave us without evidence for level Ib. There is indeed nothing in the text that militates against a level II date and the group of texts to which it belongs is of mixed nature; eponymy datings assign kt f/k 177 and 184 to level II, but kt f/k 178 and 181 are from level Ib (eponymy of Enā, see Balkan 1955, 100 no.2). A *kārum* during level II is documented in POAT 9:11, kt k/k 89:21, and kt n/k 473:21. The Assyrian "Ili-bāni of Tawinia" occurs in KTS 1, 3b:4 and kt m/k 130:321f.

27. The palace occurs in CCT 5, 30a:15 (textiles went up to the palace in T.), the *kārum* also in kt i/k 120:22f., kt 92/k 207:4 (letter from *kārum* Kanesh), and kt 92/k 197:21. That kt r/k 1 (AKT 2, p. 38, no. 2), a letter by Aniš-kibal, the *barullum* of Tiburzia,<sup>714</sup> is a level Ib text and would be addressed to *u<sub>1</sub>-bar<sup>l</sup>-tim ša Tegarama*, is very doubtful, because of the curious spelling with *u<sub>1</sub>*, though there are some level Ib texts (kt r/k 15 and 19, see Donbaz 1989a, 78ff.) among those discovered in 1965. The suggestion of Bayram 1998a, 54 note 75, to read *IO'-tim* = *ešartim*, "ten-men board", is attractive. See for Tegarama as dwelling place of Assyrians, TPAK 50:9 ("the house of Š. in T."), BIN 6, 136:12 (Iddin-Kūbum, the man of Tegarama), and TPAK 11:9. The writer of TPAK 198 testifies that he brought a letter of *kārum* Kanesh to Tegarama.

28. A *rubā'um* *Timilkiāum* in TuM 1, 24e:2. The nisbe occurs in the level Ib treaty with Hahhum (kt 00k 10, I [III]:26'), which refers to him as a potential enemy of Hahhum; the nisbe in TC 3, 162:9 (level II) could mean the ruler or an Assyrian living in the city (cf. kt m/k 16:5, PN *ša Timilkia*). The land occurs in kt 75/k 81:4f., "You shall not do business in Timilkia and in its land". The "seal of *kārum* Timilkia", followed by six seal impressions, is mentioned on the envelope of kt m/k 66:1 (level II), see Hecker 2003, 192f. The answer to the question in Nashef 1991, 120, "alle zu Ib?", is clearly negative. The claim of Balkan 1965b, 155, of a *kārum* during the level Ib period is based on its occurrence in the address of a letter to the *kārum* of Šamuha, but the text is unpublished and no number is given (see above on 22).

29. The palace also in CCT 6, 12a:10, and the *wabartum* in kt 92/k 200:5. The nisbe is used several times of copper. Note the spelling Tišuwurna in TPAK 170:8.

30. The *rubā'um* of Tuhpia received a present (*erbum*) in TC 1, 39:4-8, and he wrote the letter kt 85/k 27, see Günbattli 1997, no.1, who also mentions kt j/k 80:6, *rubā'im Tū-ūh-pi-a-i-im*. Both a *kārum* (once, in kt 92/k 203:6) and a *wabartum* (KTK

<sup>714</sup> See for the name also TC 3, 191:33 and for the man perhaps kt 91/k 108 rev. 2, a gift of two textiles *ana Ti-bu-ur-zi-a-i-e-im*.

107:13) are attested during the level II period and we have two references to the "residents" (*wašbūtum*) of Tuḫpia, in Prag I 478:3 and kt 87/k 552:26, where they act in a judicial capacity together with "the *dātu*-payers and those who travel on the road to the City" (*ālikū ša harrān ālim*), a constellation which is considered typical for the level Ib period (see above II.2.1). In the letter kt 92/k 224, addressed to "every single *kārum* and *wabartum* until Tuḫpia", the town is the northern limit of the area Kuliya has to cover with this circulatory letter. Kt 92/k 196:2 mentions the *allahhinnum* of Tuḫpia and there are also references to copper from this city (Dercksen 1996, 45). The "weight of Tuḫpia", used for copper, occurs in kt 93/k 278.

31. A ruler is mentioned in kt 93/k 179:3f. (courtesy Michel) in the phrase "the country is in turmoil since the ruler of U. is absent /there is no ruler in U." (*rubā'um kīma ina Ulama laššū*). The nisbe in the fragment TC 1, 118:5' probably refers to the ruler, in view of the preceding lines, [...a/i]-na Ulama [....]-al ū sikkātum [...Ū]-la-ma-i-im. The "seal of the *wabartum* of Ulama", followed by four seal impressions, is mentioned on CCT 5, 18a (=El 282, see Hecker 2003, 194). The *wabartum* occurs also in kt n/k 1801 (deposition) and in the interesting text kt 83/k 117 (Günbatṭi 1998c = CMK 44), a letter to *kārum* Kanesh by its messengers and *kārum* Wahšūšana, who mention the arrival of "tablets of the *wa-bar-tum* of Ulama and Šaladuwar", which report on problems in (reaching) Burušaddum. Nashef's assumption that ICK 2, 293, which mentions travel expenses "until Ulama", is from level Ib lacks proof.

32. The *wabartum* is only known from the three records AKT 3, 55-57, where it acts in a judiciary capacity; in 56 the issue is "pure copper of the land of Šawit. Upê occurs also in AKT 3, 48:4, where a trader's house in Upê is held as pledge.

33. See for the letter SUP 7, on the violation of Assur's shrine in *kārum* Uršu, Larsen 1976, 261. The *kārum* also occurs in the emotional statement in CCT 6, 14:30f. (collated), that *kārum* Kanīš Za-al[pa Hu-r]a-ma Ur-šu ū <Ma>-a-ma-a know the facts. Note kt 87/k 179 (Hecker 1998, no. 5), a slave bought in Ur[šu], handed over in Zalpa and then brought to Kanesh.

34. The *allahhinnum* ša Ū-ša occurs in kt 87/k 447:24, and identified by the nisbe in CCT 5, 28b:6, a large silver debt owed by the *allahhinnum* Uššāium, related to CCT 6, 46b:24f.; BIN 4, 45:8 mentions the *rabi sikkitim* Ū-ša-i-um. The *alahinnum* ša Ū-di-ša in CCT 5, 35c:3, as suggested in Ulshöfer 1995, no. 321, might be a scribal error (Ū-<di>-šā), since no place-name *Ud/tiša* is known. An Assyrian living there was Alahum Uššāium, in CCT 6, 46b:24f. See for the city Ušša also R. Lebrun, in *ICH* IV, 328ff.

35. See for *rubā'um* Wahšūšanāium also kt 92/k 234 (he paid 3.000 <minas> of copper to Enna-Suen), AKT 1, 78:15 (without *rubā'um*), and perhaps, if *awilum* refers to the ruler, kt 89/k 207, "We made inquiries about the case of Wahšūšana, the *awilum* needs many textiles for his country". A *rubātum* in KTS 1, 50c:2, a *rabi sikkitim* of this city in kt 87/k 387:26f. (see on this text below VI.1.2.3). The existence of a *kārum* during the level Ib period is not certain, because kt r/k 16, contrary to Nashef 1991, 135, for prosopographical reasons is from level II. The view of Balkan 1965b, 154f., that ICK 2, 139:32 is from level Ib, because this deposition ends with the formulation "for this affair *be-el ni-x* [x (x)] and *kārum* Wahšūšana gave us", with a private person as subject,<sup>715</sup> needs more proof. Envelopes with the text "Seal of *kārum* Wahšūšana", with seal impressions, are listed in Hecker 2003, 194f. The existence of a *wabartum* in this city in the level II period is not correct, since in KTK 5:5 we have to read [*i*]-[*š*]-[*t*]-[*ū*] *Wahšūšana* (collation Jankowska). This makes a *kārum* also during the Ib period possible, but its occurrence in kt 00/k 14:1 (level Ib, dated to the year eponymy of

<sup>715</sup> Balkan restored Bēl-n[išū], a name not attested in OA; perhaps *bēl* *n[ikass]*, "accountant"?

Hahhia), in "*kārum* Ūh-<šū>-ša-na and the travelers on the road to the City", is problematic because of the emendation, although a spelling with Ūh- instead of Wah- is no problem, in view of the spelling Ū-ūh-šu-ša-na in kt 94/k 1374:3 (and cf. Ušhania for Wašhania, already in texts from level II). Kt 92/ 248:8ff. mention that "the (traders?) residing in (*wašbūtum*) Wahšūšana have left". The gates of the city are mentioned in kt j/k 659:9ff., which advises, since the *bāb abullim* is watched, that entrance into the city should take place by "another gate" (*abullum šanitum*).

**36.** The letter KTP 14 (CMK 40) mentions that a new ruler has acceded to the throne and wants to swear the oath. Kt 89/k 228:4f. mention the obligation to deliver 100 good textiles to the *rubā'um*. The palace is mentioned in kt 94/k 1534:9f.: "In Wašhania the palace took 5 1/2 shekels of tin as *nishatu*-tax" (followed by a small payment to the local *kaššum*, a man called *ša ha-Dī-šu* and a local *rābišum*). A *wabartum* in this city during the level II period is also mentioned in kt k/k 78:19, kt 94/k 442:34, and HS 2932: 9f. (Sturm 2000, 492). Kt 00/k 73f. (Donbaz 2004a, 184) mentions Zua, the scribe of the *wabartum* of Wašhania.

**37-38.** There seem to be three cities with very similar names (see Miller 2001, 70-77), two of which, a northern and a southern one, both spelled Zalpa, occur dozens of times in the OA texts. The northern one, spelled Zalpua and Zalpa in Hittite sources, probably can be identified with Ikiztepe, a town a little northwest of Bafra. The southern one could be Zalpa (Mari: Zalpah) on the Balikh or North-Syrian Zalb/war, located west of the Euphrates and perhaps to be identified with Tilmen Höyük (Miller 2001, 74-77). Nashef, Forlanini and Miller prefer the latter, because the former is rather far to the south for OA caravans, which usually crossed the Euphrates much more to the north, in the area of Samsat. But it is not easy to integrate the North-Syrian Zalpa, ca. 100 kms west of the Euphrates, into the Assyrian caravan system, and therefore Forlanini 2004 (426 and map) wants to locate it southwest of Malatya, in the area of Doğanşehir. This fits better, because this southern Zalpa was a regular stop for caravans on the way to Kanesh (Nashef 1987, 69). Although its position in the itineraries varies, there are several occurrences which show that the town is in the general area where one leaves Northern Mesopotamia and enters Southern Anatolia. In AOAT 292f., note 423, I have presented arguments for identifying the *kārum* with this southern Zalpa, which is confirmed by the enumeration of a series of *kāruns* in CCT 6, 14:30f.: Kanesh, Zalpa, Hurama, Uršu and Mamma (see above on no. 33). The southern Zalpa, whatever its exact location, must also be meant in Kt 87/k 179 (courtesy Hecker), where a slave-girl, bought in Uršu, is sold in Zalpa and brought to Kanesh. This implies that the *wabartum* was in the northern Zalpa, and kt o/k 24 is an envelope sealed by its representatives (text KİŞIB *a-ba-ar-tim ša Zalpa*, see Hecker 2003, 195). This Zalpa then is also the recipient of kt k/k 98, a letter of *kārum* Kanesh to the "travelers (to the City?) and the *wabartum* of Z.", and in *El* 267 it handled a legal case about a payment of a debt to the palace (in Zalpa?). In many cases a choice between northern and southern Zalpa is difficult and this also applies to the mention of a *rubā'um* and the *nisbe*, in particular in the important letter TC 3, 85 (= CMK 90, discussed in Garelli 1963, 344ff.) about negotiations with the ruler about compensation for losses. *Māt Zalpa* occurs in k/k 98:27f. (sale of a slave-girl *ina māt Z.*), possibly the northern Zalpa, since the text mentions the arrival of boys from Hattum, but in other cases (m/k 11:24, kt 87/k 120: 9, and kt 87/ k 551:23, oxen driven to *māt Zalpa*) the choice is difficult. In the interesting letter kt 87/k 547:25 (courtesy Hecker), which may reflect a military conflict, and where we read about "booty (made) in the land Zalpa" (*ina šallitim i-māt Zalpa*) and where the man (ruler?) of Kuššara appears (whose palace is probably meant in lines 21ff.), the southern city could be meant. The few references to Zalpa in texts from level Ib (OIP 27, 5 and 6, kt n/k 10:5) presumably mean the northern Zalpa

(see Dercksen 2001a, 59). "Zalpa on the bank of the river" (*ina šapat nārim ina Zalpa*, ICK 2, 156:3), might refer both to the northern or the southern city.

39. The *wabartum* is also attested in a/k 1412: 18 and kt n/k 1007:25, and the town as such occurs also in TPAK 4:13, kt t/k 11:13, kt 91/k 356:34, kt 94/k 310:5, and 378:8.

### 2.3. ASSYRIAN COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENTS

While the data on Assyrian caravan journeys are helpful, transactions by traders and traveling agents who looked for the best places to do business, could profit from information on the markets, and practiced indirect exchange, make it difficult to discover clear patterns. This makes the data on Assyrian commercial settlements, either in a *kārum* or colony or in a *wabartum* or trading station, now attested for nearly forty different cities and towns, important. No texts explain the choice of these towns, nor the reasons for the difference in status between the two and how or why a change in status was effectuated, but there must have been commercial reasons for settling down permanently with a group of traders in a particular town. Such towns may have been strategically located road-stations, important market towns or central places, centres of production (of wool, copper or silver), or political capitals, and in several cases a combination of these factors is likely. Importance as road-station depended on the local geography - mountains passes, river crossings,<sup>716</sup> road junctions, etc. - and while such features can to some extent be established on the basis of written sources, good maps, and archaeological surveys, the fact that thus far only the location of Kanesh, Amkuwa and Hattuş have been established with certainty is a problem. A city's economic importance can be deduced from textual evidence on the nature, size and frequency of transactions carried out there and on its function as market for specific goods, such as Durhumit for copper,<sup>717</sup> Burushaddum for silver,<sup>718</sup> and Luhusaddia apparently for wool.<sup>719</sup> A city's political importance, as capital of a state, also played a role and not only because such cities usually were strategically located concentrations of economic power. The trade was based on treaties with local rulers, which stipulated that imported goods had to be cleared and taxes paid in the local palace, while the ruler guaranteed protection to caravans traveling in his land, and this made political centres an obvious choice for commercial settlement. This choice was also in the interest of the local palaces, since it allowed them to better monitor the activities of the Assyrians and to collect the taxes due, while at the same time buying and selling merchandise as customers of the Assyrians. Assyrian commercial activity in a town must have attracted

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<sup>716</sup> Texts refer to expenses for *nēbartum*, "crossing", and to payments for bridges (*ša titurrim*).

<sup>717</sup> See for Durhumit, Michel 1991a, and for its role in the copper trade, Dercksen 1996, 154f. Poor copper obtained elsewhere could be converted there into fine or refined copper, which was easier to sell, but at some moment this was forbidden by a ruling of the *kārum* (CCT 4, 27a:26f., see Dercksen 1996, 54). Note also a stipulation about the payment of copper "according to the rate of exchange (*mahirum*) of Durhumit", and "interest according to the ruling of Durhumit" in kt 91/390:9.

<sup>718</sup> See for this city Garelli 1989.

<sup>719</sup> See AOAT 131f., also kt 87/k 464:17ff., "in Luhusaddia I acquired 57 talents of wool for 9 minas of silver".



other merchants and stimulated economic activities, also because the traders needed personnel and basic provisions for their daily needs.

We now probably know most *kārum*s and *wabartum*s, which together made the Assyrian commercial system during the best-attested period of level II, but we do not know how it came into being. It seems likely that Kanesh was the first city where the Assyrians settled down, perhaps linking up with the city's older reputation as trading centre and moving from a phase of venture trade, when caravans visiting such a central place had to return again after a short stay, to one of more permanent settlement in the target area. This would explain the position of *kārum* Kanesh as administrative centre of the trading network and also the (early?) existence of several Assyrian settlements on the way to Kanesh, in particular in Northern Mesopotamia and in the area where the Euphrates was crossed, such as Eluhhut, Nehria, Hahhum, Uršu, and Zalpa. Additional settlements must have been founded as the trade grew and a greater area was covered, probably to include the copper mining areas in the north and (if not already earlier) areas more to the southwest, where there was much silver. And in this gradual expansion Assyrian and local Anatolian interests may well have gone hand in hand, considering the benefits the trade yielded the local rulers and the eagerness shown by some rulers, such as the new king of Wašhania in his letter KTP 14 (CMK 40), to swear the oath to the Assyrian authorities. Some might actually have invited the Assyrian traders to settle down in their town, though we have no evidence to prove this.

It is unfortunately extremely difficult to map this development. Most references to *kārum*s and *wabartum*s are in private and official letters<sup>720</sup> and especially in judicial texts, such as verdicts and depositions, which record that a named *kārum* or *wabartum* had made people render testimony in a lawsuit,<sup>721</sup> but both types of documents are undated. We also have to be careful in drawing too firm conclusions from the system of settlements, because our data probably are not yet complete, especially for the period of level Ib. That some settlements are only rarely attested (see the table in § 2), even leaves room for a few new ones. New texts revealed the existence of a few rather unexpected Assyrian settlements, such as *kārum* Eluhhut and *wabartum* ša Upê. Šuppilulīa, somewhere between Amkuwa and Hattuş, whose *kārum* during the time of level Ib was known, now turns out to have had a *wabartum* already during level II (kt 94/k 486:17). The survey of differences between the situation during level II and level Ib, given by Larsen 1976, 236ff., now requires some adaptation and there is proof of both more continuity and more change, since we know that Timilkia had a *kārum* during levels II and Ib.<sup>722</sup> Change of status is now attested for the Assyrian settlements at Kuburnat, Šuppilulīa and Wašhania, all three from *wabartum* during level II to *kārum* during level Ib. The example of Šamuha, now attested as *wabartum* during level II (TPAK 182:2f.) and with both a *kārum* and a *wabartum* during level Ib, indicates that a change of status within one period was also possible. For Tuḫpia, on the other hand,

<sup>720</sup> See for the latter the translations of most of them in CMK, ch.1

<sup>721</sup> See for this type of records Veenhof 1991. The standard phrase is "For this affair *kārum*/*wabartum* GN gave us and before the dagger of Aššur we gave our testimony".

<sup>722</sup> Its absence during level II, noted by Larsen 1976, 239, shows the limitations of our sources. We now have six references and the question posed in Nashef 1991, 120, "(alle zu Ib?)" can be answered negatively. Kt 87/k 257:7 (courtesy Hecker) is an atypical occurrence, stipulating "interest according to ruling of *kārum* Timilkia" in the text of a debt-note which is dated to eponymy year 104. The seal of this *kārum* is mentioned in kt m/k 66:1 (KIŠIB *kārim* Timilkia) and kt 94/k 502 (courtesy Larsen) is a letter of *kārum* Kaniš to this *kārum*.

both a *wabartum* and a *kārum* are attested for level II and one is tempted to assume that the growing importance of the town for Assyrian trade is responsible for a change in status. Something similar may have been the case with Šaladuwar, whose *wabartum* during the level II period is well documented, but we now have two related texts that register a payment to the *kārum* in that town (see above § 2.2 on no. 20). During level Ib Assyrian settlements are not attested in twenty-three of the cities listed in the table, which suggests changes in the system, but with the limited number of (published) level Ib texts from Kanesh now available, non-attestation can be dangerous *argumentum e silentio*.

Dercksen 2001a, 61f., has pointed out that Buruṣhaddum (and perhaps also Wahšušana)<sup>723</sup> does not occur in the level Ib texts we have (from Hattuš, Amkuwa and Kanesh) and had suggested loss of importance as a trading centre or inaccessibility as a possible explanation.<sup>724</sup> He points out that this would make its frequently proposed identification with Acemhöyük a problem, since this site yielded bullae which are contemporary with the level Ib period and indicate commercial activity and contacts with Assur and Kanesh,<sup>725</sup> while also the Anitta Text proves its importance during the later part of the level Ib period. If Buruṣhaddum is indeed no longer part of the trading network, it might favour identification of this city with Konya Karahöyük, which in turn would imply Assyrian presence during the level II period much further to the south-west of Kanesh and an important reduction of the range of action during the level Ib period. Loss of Buruṣhaddum, and perhaps also Wahšušana, as Assyrian trading centres might explain why Waṣhanian, on the road from Kanesh to the west, during that period developed into a *kārum*. Uncertainty about the location and identification of Buruṣhaddum, unfortunately, only allows hypothetical conclusions.

On the basis of his analysis of all known level Ib texts Dercksen (2001a, 65f.) concluded "that the focus of Assyrian trade appears to have shifted after Level II to the emerging power Mamma near Elbistan and to the area within the bend of the Kızılırmak, formerly called Hattum. This probably happened due to political developments in the course of which some cities in the west lost the position they held during Level II." The rise in status (whatever that may have meant in practice) of the Assyrian settlements at Kuburnat, Šuppiluliuma and Waṣhanian would fit such a development, but more textual data from the Level Ib period are needed to substantiate this explanation.

#### 2.4. ANATOLIAN CITIES AND THEIR RULERS

<sup>723</sup> This uncertainty depends on the dating of ICK 2, 139, see the comments on no. 35 of the table.

<sup>724</sup> He notes that Šaladuwar, a neighbouring town of Wahšušana, does occur once, in KBo 9, 6:10, as the destination of tin sent from Hattuš. But Ulama, which had a *wabartum* during the level II period and is situated on the or a road from Wahšušana to Buruṣhaddum (see the letter CMK 44) is also not attested. There is no reason to take ICK 2, 293, with Nashef 1991, 128, as being from level Ib, but which *kārum* is meant in line 6 of this text (payment of 10 shekels of silver to it) is unclear,

<sup>725</sup> It yielded bullae sealed by Šamši-Adad I, sealed bullae attached to packets sent from Assur (by a group called *nibum*, see for them Dercksen 2004a, 62f.) to *kārum* Kanesh and apparently sent on to Acemhöyük without being opened, and a sealed bulla inscribed "Seal of Šumi-Aššur, son of Aššur-ṭab, to my representative", clear proof of the presence of Assyrians traders there; see Veenhof 1993.

Our knowledge of the Anatolian cities, towns, "lands", and their rulers is also restricted, because the information on them in Assyrian sources is often laconic and ad hoc. The texts acquaint us with a few hundred different place-names, but many towns or villages<sup>726</sup> are just names for us. Several are only known because the Assyrian booked expenses incurred there during one of their trips,<sup>727</sup> others are mentioned, especially in native Anatolian records, as places where people lived or came from. A number are only indirectly known, because they occur as nisbe, used to identify a particular product or person.<sup>728</sup> In several cases the political status of a town remains unclear for lack of information on a possible ruler or palace, probably because it was not important or had no diplomatic contacts (or conflicts) with the Assyrians, which usually was the reason for mentioning it in letters. On the other hand, several towns do figure in the sources, occasionally even with their ruler, while no Assyrian commercial presence is recorded and even their location and importance remain unknown. Examples are the *rubāʾum Širmiāʾum*, (identical to?) that of *Širmuʾin*, and the *rubāʾum ša Šihwa*.<sup>729</sup> References to a king, invariably called *rubāʾum*,<sup>730</sup> with the term the Assyrians used to designate the ruler of Assur, are clear when the city over which he ruled is added (*rubāʾum ša GN*), as happens in the address of letters by Anatolian rulers to Assyrian authorities or traders (cf. *CMK* 93 and 97).<sup>731</sup> But this specification is often omitted, especially in letters, when it was clear to the correspondents which ruler was meant, but not to us (e.g. in the letters translated as *CMK* 94-96). There are also many cases where a ruler or queen is only designated by a nisbe, which reminds us of the use of *awil* + GN in texts from Mari. Many nisbes obviously refer to rulers, but since they are also used to identify private persons who live in or are from a particular town, uncertainties remain. Some extremely interesting letters and records of confrontations with local rulers unfortunately only speak of "the ruler" (*rubāʾum*), without mentioning his city, which makes us guess.<sup>732</sup> The general rule is that Assyrian texts almost never

<sup>726</sup> Some have names of the type *āl* + personal name or noun, e.g. *āl Kupīšan* (kt 91/k 437:17f.), *āl buṭnātim*, "Pistachio-town" (kt 91/k 437:1), *āl iṣṣurātīm*, "Birds-town" (kt 92/k 237:3), etc.

<sup>727</sup> Expenses in Bagarime (I 628:13), payment of 2 shekels of silver in Dumelia (kt 91/k 345:19), silver paid for a cloak in Duwānia (kt u/k 5:6, collated), payment for lodging in Hanigga and a gift to a local *allahhinnūm* in Tahadizina (kt 91/k 437:6 and 21), etc.

<sup>728</sup> E.g. *tapašattāium*, "from Tapašatta", and *taritarāium*, "from Taritar", used of copper, *sitlunium*, used of sheep, *s/zus/zēium*, used of a garment (*lubūšam* ZU-ZI-e-a-am, AKT 2, 24:10), *dibasnāium* used of iron (kt u/k 3:56, collated), *palurušnāium*, used of a man (KTH 3:22), *kilārium* (also attested as nisbe for a population group in the Sargon tale, kt j/k 97:57) used of slaves, etc.

<sup>729</sup> See for references Nashef 1991 s.v.

<sup>730</sup> See for the use of this term, Balkan 1957, 25f. *Šarrum* is known, but in Anum-hirbi's letter it is used for petty rulers, who are vassals of a great king. The use of LUGAL for "king" is exceptionally used for the ruler of Hahhum in CCT 4, 30a:13 (where his magnates are called *rubāʾu*), but the same ruler is called *rubāʾum* in kt b/k 612:18. This indicates that the logogram LUGAL could be used for *rubāʾum*, as with Zuzu, "great king of Alahzina", whose title is written LUGAL GAL in kt 89/k 369:1, but *rubāʾum* GAL in kt 89/k 370:35.

<sup>731</sup> Also in kt n/k 1024, a letter of the ruler of Hurama to an Assyrian trader.

<sup>732</sup> Examples are kt 87/k 249 (Hecker 1996, 148f.) and the duplicates kt n/k 504 and kt 93/k 145, where a king and queen

mention an Anatolian ruler by name,<sup>733</sup> just like they frequently speak of "natives" (Anatolians, *nu'ā'um*), without recording their name. Rare exceptions occur when specific events are mentioned as the date when a debt was contracted. In ICK 1, 178:2ff. this happened "when Larbarša became king" (*inūmi Labarša rubā'utam iṣbutu*), but we do not know of which city,<sup>734</sup> and in kt n/k 76:12f. "when Asu, the king of Luhusaddia, had died".<sup>735</sup> Something similar is the case in kt n/k 1371: 14ff. (courtesy Çeçen), which reports that travelers were stopped when the message about the death of the anonymous ruler of (the otherwise unknown town of) Kaštama became known. Other interesting references to rulers who remain anonymous are in CMK 91 and KTS 50c.<sup>736</sup> A few references to unnamed rulers are in the context of annual or seasonal rituals or festivals, mentioned as due dates in Anatolian debt-notes, whose meaning escapes us.<sup>737</sup>

## 2.5. 'NOTARIZATION' AND DATING IN LEVEL Ib TEXTS

### 2.5.1. LIST OF ATTESTED 'NOTARIZATIONS'

More names of Anatolian rulers are known from the level Ib period, mainly from the so-called 'notarizations' which appear at the end at the end of Anatolian legal records, and document that the transaction was passed under supervision and perhaps with permission (*iqqātē*) of the king or the *rabi simmiltim* mentioned by name. Note in particular the formulation in VAT 4536:15f. (no. 22), "they bought the house *iqqātē* Kammalia". The ruler (*rubā'um*) is usually followed by the mention of the "chief of the stairway" (*rabi simmiltim*), a title which probably links him with a "stairway leading up to the city wall"

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accuse an Assyrian of having served as messenger for their enemy, the ruler of Tawinia (see Günbattı 2001, also on the question which ruler might be meant).

<sup>733</sup> The same problem arises with references to rulers of Assur, only designated as *rubā'um*, see e.g. Ulshöfer no. 176:15'-17', silver sent to Assur to the *rubā'um* and tin *ša abišu ša rubā'im*, where the identification is not always immediately clear. See now also Kryszat 2004a, on the similar problem of identifying the Assyrian ruler designated as *waklum*.

<sup>734</sup> See Balkan 1957, 54. The text is broken and only contains the name of the debtor, without patronymic. He has to pay "when he returns from Hattum", the designation of the area within the bend of the Kızılırmak, which suggests that Labarša ruled elsewhere. Note also the grain loan kt k/k 33 (courtesy Hecker), to be given back "by means of the measuring jar of Labarša" (*ikkarpitim ša Labarša*), where Labarša is neither creditor, nor debtor, nor witness, hence perhaps the ruler after whom the standard measure was named?

<sup>735</sup> See for this text Donbaz 1988a, 51f. (level Ib period). An anonymous queen of Luhusaddia is mentioned in CCT 4, 19c (CMK 103). Would she have continued to rule after the death of her husband?

<sup>736</sup> Records a gift presented "when the queen of Wahuššana entered (her city)", which must have been a special occasion, perhaps when she arrived as bride of the local king.

<sup>737</sup> In kt n/k 1716b:9, "payment in one year, when the king comes out of the temple of (the god) Nipas". In kt n/k 306:5ff., "when the ruler enters the *Gaššum*" (to which kt j/k 9:11 adds: "in the temple of Anna"; see for *Gaššum*, Dercksen 2001a, 45 note 35).

or perhaps to the main gate<sup>738</sup>, but which is relatively rare outside the notarization (see below ch. VI.1.1). His power is documented by kt/b/95, where he is offered a few textiles to ensure that prisoners may stay alive, and in kt 89/k 353 (courtesy Kawasaki) the *rabi simmitim* Kura sells a whole family, with their possessions, to an Assyrian, presumably because he himself as their owner, or the family which are under his power, have to pay their debts.<sup>739</sup> We have the following notarizations:<sup>740</sup>

<i>nr.</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>transaction</i>	<i>rubā'um</i>	<i>rabi simmitim</i>	<i>without title</i>
1.	kt n/k 32:18f.	settlement	Hurmeli (Mamma)	Harpatiwa	-
2.	kt 99/k 139	debt	-	-	Harpatiwa
3.	OIP 27, 53	redemption	-	-	Harpatiwa
4.	kt r/k 19	division	-	-	Harpatiwa
5.	kt n/k 32:49f.	settlement	Inar (Kanesh)	Šamnuman	-
6.	TC 1, 62	joint household	[Inar] <sup>?</sup>	[ ? ]	Šamnuman
7.	kt k/k 10	house sale	Inar	-	-
8.	TC 1, 122	divorce	Waršuma	Halgiašu	-
9.	KTP 43	slave sale	Waršuma	Halgiašu	-
10.	kt n/k 31	house sale	Waršuma	Halgiašu	-
11.	kt r/k 15	separation	Waršuma	Halgiašu	-
12.	kt 89/k 383	separation	Waršuma	Halgiašu	-
13.	kt 99/k 138A	brotherhood	Warašma	Halgiašu	-
14.	kt k/k 14	loan or debt	-	Halgiašu	-
15.	kt 89/k 379	adoption	Pithana	-	-
16.	kt n/k 11	slave sale	-	-	Pithana
17.	TC 3, 214	divorce	Pithana	Anitta	-
18.	kt k/k 9	debt	Pithana	Anitta	-
19.	OIP 27, 1	[?]	Anitta	-	-
20.	kt 89/k 371	redemption	Anitta	Peruwa-Kammalia	-
21.	OIP 27, 49	separation	Anitta <i>r. rabium</i>	Peruwa	-
22.	VAT 4536	house sale	-	Kammalia	-
23.	KKS 57	joint household	Zuzu	Ištar-ibra	-
24.	kt k/k 1	divorce	Zuzu	Ištar-ibra	-
25.	kt 89/k 370	joint household	Zuzu	Ištar-ibra	-

<sup>738</sup> CAD S 274,d, which quotes an OA text in which an anonymous trader states that he produced/brought up (*šēlu'um*) for his addressee an amount of silver, which "you accepted (*mahhurum*) on/in the stairway and put into a coffer, which is now deposited under your seals where you instructed me".

<sup>739</sup> A list of personnel from the city-mound, kt g/t 36, mentions 40 people, "personnel (*aštāpirum*) of Turupani, *rabi simmitim*". (Bilgiç 1964, 148), assembled for a specific purpose (cf. Dercksen 2004b, 139 note 5). See further CAD S 275f., which references which indicate his power and his involvement in the trade (*El* 273 is a verdict by the *kārum*, which pronounces a boycott of the *r. s.*, because he does not pay his debts, see Larsen 1976, 327). In KTK 20:24 we have to read *rabi sikkitim*.

<sup>740</sup> Most of the texts used in the table can be found in Balkan 1957, 45f., Donbaz 1990a, 1989a, 1993a, and 2004b; see for 21 Müller-Marzahn 2000, no. 4, and for the seals on some of these texts, N. Özgüç 1996a. See also above, note 669 for some readings.

26. kt j/k 625	divorce	Zuzu	<i>r. rabium</i>	lštar-ibra	-
27. kt 89/k 369	joint household	[Zuzu]	<i>r. rabium</i>	lštar-ibra	-
28. kt n/k 39	sale of woman	[.....]		[.....]	-
29. kt 89/k 365	separation	[.....]		[.....]	-

### Comments

1. Kt n/k 32 (see above note 667) deals with a partnership between an Assyrian and two Anatolian brothers, "notarized" in the past by Hurmeli, but now (and after one of the brothers has died) terminated under the supervision of king Inar. That the partners would trade in Kanesh and Mamma (line 21) does not make Hurmeli king of Mamma and he must have been the (a) predecessor of Inar as king of Kanesh (see on 5-7).

2-4. The man who notarizes must be the same as the *rabi simmiltim* of l, cf. 7-8; see for 4, Dercksen 2004b, 168.

5. The Anum-hirbi letter (line 29f.) tells us that Inar was the father of Waršama, but the latter was not Inar's *rabi simmiltim*; Šamnuman (if he was crown prince) may have died early. Perhaps the system was flexible, allowing also the ruler (7, 9) or the *rabi simmiltim* alone (2-4?, 14, 22) to notarize.

6. The name of the king is broken off before *rubā'im* at the beginning of l. 24, and Šamnuman's title (*rabi simmiltim*?) may be missing.

8-13. A well attested pair, with some variation in the spelling of the king's name (Waršama in Anum-hirbi's letter, *Wa-ar-āš-ma* in 13). See for 8 = *El* 3 and 9 = *El* 189, Balkan 1957, 45f., for a photo of 9, *ibidem*, figs. 15-21, and for 8 and 11-13 Dercksen 2004b, 167ff. and 172f. That Halgiašu did not succeed Waršuma as ruler might be due to Pithana's conquest of Kanesh. Halgiašu is probably mentioned in kt f/k 115, in the remark "when we settled accounts before Halgiašu", since he is neither party nor witness and may have acted a supervisor. He might even be the same man as "Halgiašu, chief of the market" (*rabi mahirim*), first witness of a slave sale (kt 93/k 215b:22).

14. Together with 22 the only certain case where only the *rabi simmiltim* notarizes.

15-18. These documents show that Pithana ruled over Kanesh. Why in 15 he notarized alone and in 16 (collated) without mention of his title is unclear; the absence of Anitta as *rabi simmiltim* could have a chronological reason (too young?). See for 17, Dercksen 2004b, 173.

19-21. These texts show that Anitta ruled over Kanesh (20) and Amkuwa (19, 21) and the conquest of Amkuwa may explain his prestigious title *rubā'um rabium*, thus far only known for the ruler of Burušhaddum (TTC 27:7, cf. Lewy 1956, 53) and Zuzu (see ad 22-26). The situation as to his *rabi simmiltim*'s is unclear. The double name in 18 is curious. but note the occurrence of similar 'double names', Kammalia-Peruwa in kt d/k 6a:4', and Kammalia-Tarawa in WAG 48-1464:3 (see Lewy 1937); it is not attractive to differentiate the *rabi simmiltim* under Anitta in 20 from that of 21. Since Kammalia was the name of a town (Nashef 1991, 64f.), the added Kammilia may have been added to identify him, since Peruwa was an extremely common name, from his many namesakes. Anitta, Zuzu or perhaps even third ruler may have been the "great king", who during the period of level Ib concluded a treaty with the Assyrians, the one studied in V.2.1.

21. Edited as Müller-Marzahn 2000, 299f., no. 4.

23-27. Zuzu's title of "great king" (in 25 *rubā'um GAL*, in 26 [LUG]AL GAL) may be due to his conquest of Kanesh, since in 27 he is called "great king of Alahzina" (location of this city unknown). Note that 24 writes *rubā'im Zuzu* instead of normal *Zuzu rubā'im*. See for 25 Dercksen 2004b, 170 and for Zuzu's seal on kt 89/k 369, T. Özgüç 2003, 308f.

**28-29.** Two records whose damaged or missing ends might have contained the notarization, as Donbaz assumes for 28; see for 29, Dercksen 2004b, 169.

The reason why certain contracts were 'notarized' is never stated and is unclear, because some other native Anatolian texts that record debts, divorces, sales and separations lack it. More contracts may have been notarized than we can observe, since the tablet of 14 mentions the notarization, but its envelope not. Notarization was probably conditioned by the status of the persons or the property involved (servants/property of the crown?), whose transfer or change of status was monitored or had to be approved by the ruler, who in this may have also been made responsible for maintaining the legal situation created by the contract. One might compare the fact that at Ugarit many contracts recording the transfer of immovable property were passed "before (*ana pāni*) the king"; his authorization must have been required because the houses and fields involved may have been originally property of the crown or their owners liable to service duties.

### 2.5.2. DATING RULERS AND EVENTS

Unfortunately, the notarized records are never dated by year eponymies, so that we do not know how long these rulers reigned and even their sequence is a matter of deduction, but some observations can be made (see also ch. III.2.4 for a historical reconstruction). Pithana's *rabi simmiltim* was Anitta, apparently the crown-prince, who in due time succeeded him and such a succession is implied by KTK 7 too.<sup>741</sup> But this was not always so, not with Halgiašu, Waršuma's "chief of the stairway" (who occurs six times), and not with Peruwa-Kammalia, the one of Anitta.<sup>742</sup> Dynastic succession in these cases may have been disturbed by death,<sup>743</sup> conquest or revolt.

Some texts from level II do mention such events. Kt n/k 1429:14 mentions hostilities of (in) Kanesh" (*nukurātum ša Kaniš*)<sup>744</sup> and several texts refer to "upheaval" or "revolt" (*sahā'um*, *sihitum*) in a city or a "land", in CCT 4, 42a:18f. in Hahhum, in LB 1209:14 in the land (of) Kunanamt, in KTH 1:4f. in Burušhaddum and Wahšūšana, in kt m/k

<sup>741</sup> Read after collation " [.....] we brought (as gift) to the [*rabi sim*]miltim. The *wabartum* said: In the time of his father, when the *kārum* made [*him*] swear the oath ...., one textile for the lord of the town, one textile for .... we brought. Please, our fathers and lords, send us two textiles and we will act exactly as you instruct us" ([...] *ni-šī-i-ma* <sup>3'</sup> [*a-na GAL šī-m*]i-il<sub>5</sub>-tim <sup>4'</sup> *ni-šī-i um-ma wa-bar-tum-ma* <sup>5'</sup> *i-nu-mi a-bi-šu kà-ru-um* <sup>6'</sup> *ū-ta-mi-[ū]-ma* [.....] x <sup>7'</sup> *1TÚG a-na be-el a-li-im* <sup>8'</sup> *1TÚG a-na* x x *ni-šī-i*, etc.

<sup>742</sup> The *rabi simmiltim* Turupani, apparently of Kanesh, mentioned in kt g/k 36:30 (Bilgiç 1964, 148), is neither attested in a notarization nor (later) as king.

<sup>743</sup> Note the mention of "an epidemic (*mutānū*) of (in) Burušhaddum" in kt n/k 1339:10f. (Çecen 1995, no. 1).

<sup>744</sup> Mentioned as the time when a financial liability had started, presumably somewhere in the years 81-84 (see Veenhof 2003, 61). The possibility of *nukurum* with neighboring cities or states, which might disturb the trade, is also mentioned in the level II treaty kt n/k 794:25, and, by means of the verb *nakārum*, in the level Ib treaty with the ruler of Hahhum (see for both references Günbattı 2004, 250 note 8 and 258, III:26'ff., and below V.1.C and V.2.2 under c).

13:25 (courtesy Hecker) in Buruṣhaddum alone,<sup>745</sup> and in BIN 4, 34:8f., CCT 3, 28a:29, kt n/k 1464:25f., and TC 3, 112:21 in unidentified "lands". An intriguing piece of information is contained in KTP 10 (CMK 57), a letter of the *wabartum* of Šala<du>war to *kārum* Wahšušana, where somebody (presumably a ruler of a city, perhaps the one of Buruṣhaddum) had said in a letter (rev., lines 9-13) "Invade<sup>2</sup> the country of Wahšušana. If not, I am your enemy!"<sup>746</sup> The ruler (of Kanesh?), according to the deposition published in Günbatti 2001, designates the ruler of Tawinia as "my enemy" (*bēl nukurtia*, line 16). The nature of these events, however, remains unclear, apart from the fact that they interfere with the trade. But one such text (kt 92/k 526:6ff.) seems to link "upheaval" with the death of a king and military danger.

*"Here the king has fallen during/in the sikkātum and there is upheaval within the city and we fear for our lives. There are enemies over a distance of one and a half hour and nobody dares to go out into the countryside. One even tries to make us set out together with him for doing battle! In the meantime absolutely no contracts must be drawn up, lest we get indebted to our principals for no less than one talent of silver! When the country becomes peaceful again and the ruler will conclude an agreement with him, tablets can again be sent somewhere."*<sup>747</sup>

Since we can hardly expect to discover a Kaneshite, let alone an Anatolian Kinglist, we have to use occasional hints and prosopography for dating such events, but this is very difficult for level II texts, since neither Assyrian nor Anatolian records mention names of rulers. At times we cannot even decide whether a ruler of a particular city mentioned in several different texts is the same person. We are also not certain whether a queen who occurs alone, makes statements and takes action, did so after the king, her husband had died or whether she was a princess who, for lack of a son, had succeeded her father.<sup>748</sup> For level Ib, with the notarization, some progress must be possible if more level Ib texts, which mention the titles and professions of many Anatolians, have been published.

## 2.6. CITIES, "LANDS" AND TERRITORIES

<sup>745</sup> Lines 21-26, "Don't you know that in Kanesh not even 10 pounds of silver can be earned? There is a revolt in Buruṣhaddum, no single individual (*wedumma*) can enter the city".

<sup>746</sup> 10'ff., *ana māt Wahšušana muqtā šumma la tamqtā ištikunu nakrāk*, taking *maqātum* *ana* as it is used in Anum-hirbi's letter, lines 20 and 32. Larsen 1976, 268, gives it a more neutral meaning, "to arrive in the land", as in *allibbi mātīm maqātum*, said of a caravan in *AnOr* 6, 18:27.

<sup>747</sup> Kt 92/k 526:6-21, *annakam* <sup>7</sup> *rubā'um issikkātīm maqitma* <sup>8</sup> *ina qerab ālim sihitum* <sup>9</sup> *šaknat* (Cecen 2002, 67f.). *Sikkātum* is an outdoor event of ceremonial and/or military nature in which people take part en masse, see Veenhof 1989, 521f. and below VI.1.2.3. Read in line 11 *bēra u zūza*, and in 14 *qādišuma uštēneššūniātima*, but it is not clear to whom "together with him" refers and who is meant in line 22 by "with him", unless *maqātum* in line 7 does not mean "to fall (in battle)", but "to fall upon", "to arrive suddenly". We cannot date this event, also because the archive to which the text belongs is still unpublished.

<sup>748</sup> See for the queens, CMK p. 163ff. Note the queen of Kanesh who takes action in ATHE 62, and the one of Lulusaddia who negotiates with Assyrians in her palace in CMK 103. There are several texts in which king and queen both appear (e.g. in CMK 101), also acting together in a confrontations with the Assyrians (kt n/k 504, see Günbatti 2001).



Apart from the location of the main cities and towns, and the presence of an Assyrian trading settlement, also the extent of their territories is important and here references to the "land" (*mātum*) of a city or ruler, noted in the table (2.1.) are relevant. *Mātum* has various meanings and may also denote the country-side in opposition to a town, at times perhaps meaning "hinterland", where the traders could go to acquire or sell goods,<sup>749</sup> and it can also mean "the (rural) population", who is occupied by the harvest.<sup>750</sup> In several cases "land" probably does not mean a political entity or territorial state, but is used as a geographical designation of an area near or around a city, explainable from the lack of separate names for regions or larger areas, which could only be identified by the name of its main city. When important cities are involved one may hesitate about its meaning, e.g. when TC 1, 18:42 states that a caravan leaves Mamma to arrive in "the land of Kanesh", kt 87/k 120 mentions payment upon return from "the land of Zalpa", kt k/k94 contains a clause about the sale of a slave-girl(?) "in the land of Zalpa", and kt m/k 11:23f. speaks of purchases (*šimūm*) of the land Zalpa. Again different is the use of *mātum* in the designation *māt Šawit*, referring to a mountain ridge, the origin of copper.<sup>751</sup> Cases where the expression "land of GN" is probably used as an a-political, geographical designation are *māt Tahruwa* (kt 93/k 236:8, wool shipped to it), *māt Šarla* (kt a/k 165:18), *māt Elmelme* (Prag I 537:19, the destination of a shipment of salt), and *māt Harabiš* (kt 94/k 1472:10f., the goal of a journey). But we have to be careful as the example of Šihwa shows, a town attested only once, but one with a palace and a ruler (see Nashef 1991, 105 s.v.) and therefore also with its own territory.

The much discussed name *Hattum*, "Hattum (land)", whose origin is unknown, is different, because it does not refer to a city of that name, which the OA period was called Hattuš and no \**māt Hattuš* is attested; but we have an occurrence of *mātum ša Hattim*, which in the same text alternates with simple *Hattum*.<sup>752</sup> Hattum must refer to a (large) area,<sup>753</sup> probably the one of the basin of the Kızılırmak, with cities such as Amkuwa, Hattuš, Šinahuttum, Šuppilulīa, Tawinia, and Tuḫpia.<sup>754</sup> It probably survives in the later Hittite use of the term "Land of Hatti", which seems to include the basin of the Yeşilirmak. As such it could have been distinguished from "The land", that is the land south of the

<sup>749</sup> In the combination *ina libbi mātim*, in CCT 2, 48:7f. the region where Assyrians tried to buy local iron, in lines 24ff. contrasted with *ina naqribim*, "in the vicinity" of the town", comparable to *mātum qerbitum*, "the inland", where according to AKT 3, 45:10f. iron could be bought. See Dercksen 2001a, 58, where he considers the possibility that it was the "inland" of the area called *Hattum* in OA sources.

<sup>750</sup> Cf. the use *mātum* in the sense of "the population/army of my country" in Anum-hirbi's letter, 31f., *māti ana mātika imqutam*, "my land invaded your land".

<sup>751</sup> See also Nashef 1991, 86.

<sup>752</sup> According to kt 92/k 205:9 good purchases can be made *illibbi mātim ša Hattim*, but lines 13f. speak of "silver which can be earned *ina Hattim*".

<sup>753</sup> The OA Sargon tale (Günbatı 1998a, cf. Dercksen 2006), when enumerating the king's adversaries in lines 50ff., speaks of a *rubā'um* of Tukriš, of *Amurri'ē*, "Amorites", *Kilāri'ē*, "Kilarites", but in line 61 uses *ša Hattim*, "those of Hattum", for its people.

<sup>754</sup> See Dercksen 2001a, 58. He considers the possibility that the existence of the (perhaps older) designation (*māt*) *Hattum* had made \**māt Hattuš* as a designation of the (originally probably somewhat smaller) territory of the city-state of Hattuš superfluous.

river, extending east and west of Kanesh, perhaps more or less equal to "the land of Kanesh", which apparently did not comprise the city-states more to the south-east, Timilkia, Hurama, Kuššara, Luhusaddia, and Šalahšua.<sup>755</sup> "The land" is probably used in this way in a letter that tells that "two persons of the land" (*šina ša mātīm*) will come to administer the oath to the ruler of Wašhania, who must have been official representatives of *kārum* Kanesh. A similar meaning may be intended in ICK 1, 3, where a man is forbidden to take a secondary wife "in the land", but is allowed to do so "in the city" (Assur), where "in the land" could equal "in the land of Kanesh".<sup>756</sup> We may compare TPAK 161:9ff., where a man who marries a girl in Kanesh, is not allowed to marry a second wife in Kanesh, Burušhaddum, Durhumit, or Wahšušana, that is in the whole area where Assyrian traders worked.<sup>757</sup>

In this way "land" may also refer to the territory ruled by a specific king, whose inhabitants had to pay him taxes and render him services, which he had to defend and in which he allowed the Assyrian traders to settle and conduct their business. While in several cases we do not know whether *māt* + city name indeed has this meaning,<sup>758</sup> it is clear in ATHE 62, 33f.,<sup>759</sup> where the queen of Kanesh, after discovering a case of smuggling, "wrote to Luhusaddia, Hurama, Šalahšua and to her (own) land" to keep a close watch.<sup>760</sup> It means the territory of Kanesh, bordered in the southeast by three city-states, each with its own ruler.<sup>761</sup> This same meaning must obtain when Assyrians turn to the ruler of Luhusaddia with the words "In your land Assyrians have been killed" (Kays. 1830:9, see Hecker 1996a, no.2), since the place of crime makes the ruler accountable. Another example is kt 75/k 81:4f. (courtesy Michel), where people are forbidden to practice commerce (*šutēbulum*) "in Timilkia and in its land" (*mātišu*). Clear examples are in the two recently published treaties, where the ruler endorses stipulations that concern "your land" and "your city" (Kanesh treaty, 32ff., 58; Hahhum treaty, II [IV]: 31f. and IV [I] 23f. The second treaty is even more detailed in speaking of losses "on the river, in your mountains and in your land" (III [II] 14ff.) and "in your city Hahhum, in your mountains and in your land" (II [IV] 16f.). The same is the case in the treaty between Assur and Šehna.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>755</sup> There are references to "the land Timilkia" and "the land Luhusaddia" (see IV.2.1-2 under nos. 15 and 28), which may suggest that they were independent states.

<sup>756</sup> It has been suggested to take "the land" here as a general designation of Anatolia, but the contrast between Assur and Anatolia is normally expressed by *ālum* versus *eqlim*. Cf. POAT 16:34ff., in a rule formulated by Assur, *ša eqlim ina eqlimma ša ālim ina ālimma illaqe*, "what (is owed) in Anatolia can only be collected in Anatolia, what (is owed) in the City only in the City", and similarly ICK 1, 12:11f., "tablets, either *ša ālim* or *ša eqlim*".

<sup>757</sup> Cf. kt 94/k 149 (Michel-Garelli 1996b), where he is forbidden to marry a second wife "in Kanesh", and AKT 1, 77, where he is not allowed to do that in Kanesh or in Nehria.

<sup>758</sup> E.g. *māt Kunanamit*, which is in revolt, LB 1209B:13f.

<sup>759</sup> Involves Pšu-kēn and is addressed to Puzur-Aššur, who is attested as his partner in the years between ca. 89 and 100, see Kryszat 2004a, 48.

<sup>760</sup> Note also that the Assyrian addressee of this letter is warned not to bring his iron across, but to leave it behind in a reliable house in Timilkia.

<sup>761</sup> See for the rulers of these cities the table in § 2.1.

<sup>762</sup> See Eidem 1991, II:11f., IV 8ff. Anum-hirbi in his letter (line 27f.) also speaks of "my land", which was burned.

The expression "land of city A" has to be distinguished from "*pāti* city A", which uses the word *pātum* (or *pattum*), "edge, border, border area", well-known from OB.<sup>763</sup> The concept of a "land" as a territorial state implies that it has borders, but the word "border" occurs at best only once in OA in the new treaty with the city of Hahhum (see below ch. V.2.2), in broken context (IV [1]:7), if *tuhūmum* is indeed a by-form of *tahūmum*, once attested in NAss. There are half a dozen OA references for the use of *pātum/pattum*, and in kt n/k 388:5 (Günbatı 1997) an Assyrian trader meets a king, who returns from the countryside, *i-pā-ti-šu* with a present. Most occurrences are in accounts of expenses made en route, where they occur alongside more frequent ones made in a named town. Kt 91/k 364:5 lists expenses for bread "in Tawinia" followed by a small payment made *ina pāti ša Tišmurna*, kt 91/k 437 expenses in seven different towns and one *ina pāti ša Hanaknak*, for lodging (*bēt ubri*), presumably in the countryside, which is also the case in BIN 4, 124:1ff., a payment for lodging *ina pāti ša Razamā*.<sup>764</sup>

The existence of different "lands" and the notion of separate areas or even boundaries is also present in some texts dealing with marriage and slave sale.<sup>765</sup> When TPAK 161 (quoted above) mentions the possibility of second marriage in the Kanesh, Burushaddum, Durhumit, or Wahšušana, it enumerates the four most important cities with Assyrian colonies, but in fact probably means in the land of Kanesh and in those west of north of it, i. e. the whole of the Anatolian area settled by the Assyrian. We may compare the marriage contract Prag I 490, where the stipulation that the husband may take his Assyrian wife along on his journeys to Burushaddum or Hattum, probably means "on his journeys to the west and north of Kanesh". This is similar to Michel 1991d, 246:50f., where the enumeration of all a man's assets includes "whatever he has, either in Hattum or in Burushaddum", and to some extent also to kt 87/k 275, where the sellers of a slave-girl tell the owner "You can take her along to Hattum or to the land", where the latter must mean the territory of Kanesh. By these formulations the area southeast of Kanesh (with the cities Timilkia, Hurama, Luhusaddia, and Šalahšua) is not covered, because it was neither in "the land (of Kanesh)", nor part of Hattum, as is clear from the dossier dealing with the attempts to purchase iron in Hattum or *ina libbi mātim*.<sup>766</sup> And it is rather doubtful whether cities more to the east, such as Tegarama and Kušsara, were considered to be in Hattum.

While the just mentioned areas east and southeast of Kanesh, whatever their names, were clearly part of Anatolia, the status of the regions and cities still further south is not clear. Mamma, Zalpa and Uršu, all three to the west or northwest of the Euphrates, in the strategic area where southern Anatolia and Northern Syria meet, were independent city-states. They were important for the trade and Assyrians traders had settled down there, but they do not appear under a common denominator, and it is only later that they seem to have come under one sceptre, that of Anum-hirbi,<sup>767</sup> The area within the

<sup>763</sup> Note in particular Laws of Hammurabi § 23, which speak of the city and mayor in whose *eršetum* and *pātum* a robbery is committed, perhaps "in whose territory and within whose borders".

<sup>764</sup> OIP 27, 13:6', mentions a boy to be taken along *ana pāti ša Kaniš* (Dercksen's emendation to <ru>-ba-ti is unlikely), cf. perhaps kt 92/k 3:24 (in a list of travel expenses), 6 shekels of silver for tax *a-pā-ti Kā-ni-iš addin*, followed by a payment for a lodging (*bēt [ubrim]*), and *i-pā-ti Wahšušana* in BIN 4, 45:27f. OA does not normally use *eršetum* as "territory", but note kt 87/k 559:8f. (courtesy Hecker), *anāku šalмум ana eršetim urrad*.

<sup>765</sup> See in particular Hecker 1998a, "Über den Euphrat...".

<sup>766</sup> See Lewy 1950, 423ff.

<sup>767</sup> See Miller 2001.

great bend of the Euphrates was viewed differently, as "Trans-Euphratia", distinguished from what we now call Anatolia. When in kt 87/k 275 (already mentioned before) the sellers of a slave-girl tell her buyer: "You can take her along to Hattum or to "the land", but you shall not sell her in Kanesh or in the land Kanesh", he answers (line 17): "I will bring her across the Euphrates"<sup>768</sup> (in order to sell her?). The same restriction occurs in kt 92/k 120, where a slave may not be sold to an Assyrian or Kaneshite, and in kt 87/k 99 an Assyrian buyer in Kanesh can take a slave-girl along where he wishes, but is not allowed to sell her (presumably in Kanesh or vicinity) to cover the debts of her father and mother; but if he wishes "he can sell her to people of Talhat" (*Talhati'ē*). These stipulations are clearly meant to prevent the re-sale of local slaves in the area from which they originated.<sup>769</sup> This wish also occurs in three related records, kt 92/ k 120, 139 and 181, whose writer wants to get rid of a slave-girl that has behaved badly. He tells his addressees not to sell her to an Assyrian or to a man of Kanesh, but to somebody from Talhat, so that she cannot turn up in the land of Kanesh.<sup>770</sup> And in TC 3, 252, the sellers of a girl have one month to redeem her, thereafter she can be sold to people from Talhat or wherever the buyer wishes. Sale to Talhat for people in Anatolia apparently meant sale abroad, with no possibility of return or redemption,<sup>771</sup> and indeed, Talhat (*Talhāyūm*) is located across the Euphrates, presumably south of Viranşehir.<sup>772</sup> The same notion may apply to Nehria, presumably located in the area of Urfa, on the Upper Balikh, when the marriage contract AKT 1, 77:7f. stipulates that the groom shall not take a second wife, neither in Kanesh ("at home") nor in Nehria ("abroad").

The Anum-hirbi letter shows that in the level Ib period the rulers of Mamma and Kanesh considered themselves real "kings", each with a number of vassals, called "servants" and in a derogatory way "dogs", and also designated as *šarrānu*, "petty rulers". They call themselves *rubā'ū*, "rulers", ca. "real kings", and Anum-hirbi expresses the fear that a rebellious vassal of him may profit from his defeat and become "a third *rubā'um* (on a par) with us". It is remarkable that, though overlords of a number of vassals, Anum-hirbi and Waršama do not call themselves "great king" and we note that a predecessor the rebellious vassal, the ruler of Tēšima, during the period of level II was called *rubā'um*

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<sup>768</sup> Hecker 1998a, 166, *Purattam ušēbarsi*.

<sup>769</sup> The reason for it is not known, perhaps to avoid complications with those (family members or legal bodies, such as *tuzinnu* and *ubādinnu*; see Dercksen 2004b, who could try to fight the sale or had the right to redeem such slaves within their own city or land. In other cases no such restrictions obtained and slaves could be sold wherever their owner wished (Hecker 1998a, nos.1-3; even on the market, kt 91/ k 123:11f.), but occasionally only if the slave had committed a misdeed (see Veenhof 2003b, 696ff.).

<sup>770</sup> kt 92/k 120:13ff. adds "And where you sell her you must say: Do not bring the woman back to the land Kanesh"; 139:28f. "Get rid of her and let her not be seen in the land Kanesh"; 180:20ff. "Get rid of the slave-girl, sell her to a man of Talhat, do not sell her to an Assyrian". The last provision is added because an Assyrian buyer, by definition a trader, could take her back to Kanesh.

<sup>771</sup> See Veenhof 1978, 310f., where this stipulation is compared with UET 5, 97:19ff., where a rebellious adoptive son may be sold to Elam, Sutum or Jahmutum, to become a chattel slave.

<sup>772</sup> In the time of the Mari letters it was the capital of Yapturum, see Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 46 and 55, with Durand 1997, 304.

by his Assyrian creditor.<sup>773</sup> His city-state in due time may have suffered loss of power and have been defeated and conquered by Anum-hirbi, but we have no idea of the real power of such petty rulers; the one mentioned by Anum-hirbi, although formally a vassal, was able to undertake an armed raid into the latter's territory and to conspire with other petty kings. During the level II period only the ruler of Buruṣhaddum is most probably designated as "great king" (TTC 27, 7),<sup>774</sup> but it is possible that the rulers of the main cities, such as Kanesh and Durhumit, also had vassals who had to recognize them as their overlord and were obliged to support them in military matters ("his enemy is my enemy, his friend is my friend", etc.). But the Assyrians had to respect these vassals as rulers of their own towns and may even have concluded treaties with them; the anonymous ruler of kt n/k 794 may have been one of them. In the treaty with him it was agreed that he would receive a tiny amount of tin or silver for each donkey passing his town, in return for which he would guarantee the safety of the caravans, compensate losses, and extradite those who killed Assyrians and potential Babylonian rival traders.<sup>775</sup> The ruler of Til-Tumman, who wrote to *kārum* Kanesh, and the one of Širmuʾin (or Širmiä), who received a letter from it (CMK 91 and 97), both towns without an Assyrian *wabartum*, may also have been such rulers, who wanted good relations with the Assyrians,<sup>776</sup> and vice versa.

The status of the other rulers and towns that seem to rank below the main is difficult to assess, so that we cannot use it to explain why the formal Assyrian commercial presence in one town had the status of a *kārum* and that in another town that of a *wabartum*. Important cities and towns in commercial target areas, which were production centres and staple towns, may have harbored *kāruns*, but perhaps also towns along the main caravan roads and market centres, which could be equally important for the Assyrians. The distance between the various cities, with Assyrian settlement spread out over the whole of Anatolia, also may have been a factor, perhaps related to the pace of the caravans and the distance they could cover per day. The economic interests of the Anatolian towns themselves and the facilities they could offer the Assyrians must also have played a role and influenced the decision of the latter. The difference we note in the status of the Assyrian presence in some towns between the periods of level II and Ib (mapped in the table of § 2.1) may be due to the factors just mentioned, such as loss or increase of political and economic power and shifts in the focus of the trade.

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<sup>773</sup> Assuming that this town is the same as the one ruled by the man called *Taišimäium* by Anum-hirbi, see Nashef 1991, 112.

<sup>774</sup> The sign GAL is somewhat damaged, but not other reading seems obvious and Michel 1986 does not correct the copy.

<sup>775</sup> See for the text Günbattı 2004, 250 note 8.

<sup>776</sup> The second receives a gift and the *kārum* seems to be content with his written proposals or promises, assures him that they are concerned with his honour and reputation (*takbittum* rather than *taqbitum*) and asks him to comply with what the messenger of the *kārum* tells him.

3. THE POSITION OF *KĀRUM* KANESH

As has been repeatedly pointed out, the Assyrian colonial system was hierarchical, with *kārum* Kanesh as its administrative centre and a kind of extension of the government of the City of Assur.<sup>777</sup> It took care of the diplomatic relations with the Anatolian rulers, often in conjunction with the "Envoys of the City" (*šiprū ša ālim*), who seem to have been present on a fairly permanent basis. *Kārum* Wahšusana, according to KTP 14 (CMK 40) tells the ruler of Washania that "*kārum* Kanesh is our master", and Anatolian ruler may call the authorities of *kārum* Kanesh "our fathers" (see f/k 183 = CMK 53). As a number of official letters written by and to *kārum* Kanesh show,<sup>778</sup> it could give orders and instructions to the other *kāruns*, also for the implementation of decisions taken by the City Assembly in Assur and forwarded to *kārum* Kanesh, and in *AnOr* 6, 12 (CMK 50) *kārum* Durhumit tells *kārum* Kanesh that it has carried out its instructions. A new illustration is the handling of the instructions of Assur about the levying of the tithe on iron traded in Anatolia, by *kārum* Kanesh.<sup>779</sup> They were passed on to the other *kāruns* and *wabartums* via circular letters delivered by Kuliya, the messenger of *kārum* Kanesh, discovered in his archive in 1992.<sup>780</sup> *Kārum* Kanesh added to the decision of the city its own instructions, not only on the procedure for collecting this tax. It also demanded that henceforth every single trader, including the privileged "*dātu*-payers", would pay the *šaddu'utu*-tax on iron, owed to *kārum* Kanesh, at the local *kārum* or *wabartum* where he traded, without being able to postpone its payment until his arrival in Kanesh. New letters bring additional evidence for the role of *kārum* Kanesh, e.g. kt k/k/ 118 (courtesy Hecker), where it orders the plenary *kārum* Wahšusana to revise a judicial decision,<sup>781</sup> and kt 94/k 502 (courtesy Larsen), where *kārum* Kanesh reproaches *kārum* Timilkia for not having complied with the order to transfer an unwilling debtor to Kanesh: "Why do you disrespect us when we send you a written order to transfer (somebody)?"<sup>782</sup> While *kārum* Kanesh may also be considered to be the highest Assyrian judicial authority in Anatolia, it is remarkable that there is not a single case where a party appeals from the decision of a local *kārum* or *wabartum* to *kārum* Kanesh, in the way one could appeal from a colonial decision to Assur by declaring: "Bring my case before the City and my Lord!"<sup>783</sup> When a party declares "Bring my case before the (plenary) *kārum*!", it is an appeal to turn a confrontation before witnesses or arbiters, frequently in the framework of a private summons, into a formal lawsuit before the (plenary) *kārum*, but

<sup>777</sup> See Orlin 1970, 65f. and Larsen 1976, 247ff.

<sup>778</sup> Most are now available in translation in CMK ch.1.

<sup>779</sup> This instruction meant a change in the system, since thus far Assur (the god or the city) had received a share in the proceeds of that trade. I will treat this interesting topic in a special article on the trade in iron.

<sup>780</sup> Kt 92/k 2002, 203 and 221, see Čecen 1997a and Dercksen 2004a, 113ff.

<sup>781</sup> *Kārum* Wahšusana had set a term for conflicting parties to appear and start negotiations, but it is now told: "*Kārum* Wahšusana shall not set a term!"

<sup>782</sup> In both cases *kārum* Kanesh took action after having been appealed to (*mahārum*) by a trader with a legitimate claim (a standard procedure, see the examples discussed in Larsen 1976, 255ff.) and both had obtained an attorney (*rābišum*) to assist him, which implies that the City Assembly in Assur had already judged their complaint legitimate.

<sup>783</sup> *Ana ālim u bēlia awiti bilā*, examples in *EL* 253, 325a, *VS* 26, 118:13', and *BIN* 6, 219:18'f.

not necessarily before that of Kanesh. This appeal formula does not mention the name of a *kārum* and it apparently means the local *kārum* where the summons had taken place or the one nearest to the place where conflict had started.<sup>784</sup> There are of course many examples of the judicial activity of *kārum* Kanesh, ranging from depositions asked by and made before it to final verdicts passed, and also the so-called "Statutes of the Kanesh Colony" (Larsen 1976, 283ff.) contain rules on how to reach decisions (*dīnam diānum*) and solve cases (*awatam pašārum*). But these last texts, as far as preserved, seem to deal in particular with the procedures of settling accounts, in which context "men of accounts" (*awilū ša nikkassī*) are repeatedly mentioned and there is question of "passing verdicts concerning silver and gold".<sup>785</sup> Without minimizing the well-documented judiciary tasks of *kārum* Kanesh, its role in regulating and administrating the trade and in settling accounts of collective transactions seems to have been more important. This involved collecting *dātu*-contributions from the main traders as a kind of share-holders, facilitating trade ventures by communal fund raising to provide enterprise with capital, , raising taxes based on assigning standard values to the main commodities shipped in both directions, and periodic settlements of accounts. These rather sophisticated procedures and tasks, with their technical vocabulary have quite recently been analyzed in detail by Dercksen 2004a, chapters 7-11, to whom the reader is referred.

*Wabartums* seem to have ranked under a nearby *kārum*, though the increase in the number of both types of settlements does not yet yield a clear pattern. Because the exact location of most towns is unknown, it is difficult to use distances and good communications (roads) as a criterion. Letters of *kāruns* and *wabartums*, most of which are translated in CMK ch. 1, offer clues, but have to be used with care. That the *wabartum* of Šaladuwar writes a letter to *kārum* Wahšušana (KTP 10 = CMK 57) could be explained from the fact that the latter probably was the nearest *kārum* (see for the contacts between these two cities IV.2.2 no.20), but this very letter tells us that this *wabartum* had also written to (*kārum*?) Burušhaddum. The reason seems to have been a serious crisis, since the end of the letter quotes an order or appeal by somebody, possibly the ruler of Burušhaddum, to invade the country of Wahšušana, and this letter warns the Assyrians in that city of this threat. In such emergency situations different rules must have obtained. That the new ruler of Wašhania in KTP 14 (CMK 40) turns to *kārum* Wahšušana for renewal of the commercial treaty, could be understood as reflecting the Assyrian hierarchical lines and is not necessarily in conflict with the fact that the *wabartum* Wašhania itself also writes a letter KTK 6 (CMK 55) to *kārum* Kanesh. The ruler of Wašhania may not have realized that diplomatic contacts by nature ranged under *kārum* Kanesh,<sup>786</sup> whom *kārum* Wahšušana in this very letter acknowledges as its "lord" (*bēlum*). The just mentioned letter of *wabartum* Wašhania deals with a diplomatic incident, which involved the seizure of a trader's assets by the local *rabi sikkitim*, which

<sup>784</sup> See EL 320:34f., 338:21ff., and ICK 1, 86:16f. The *kāruns* appealed to in these examples are those before which the testimonies recorded in these documents had been given, those of Kanesh, Burušhaddum and Durhumit.

<sup>785</sup> See now also kt f/k 840:34ff. (courtesy Larsen), where a verdict of the City of Assur is quoted, which prescribes how to act when "the *kārum* passes a verdict concerning silver or gold", and when the person involved has to or is allowed to come to Assur and when not.

<sup>786</sup> A principle which was known to the ruler of Tawinia, who according to kt f/k 183 (CMK 53) does not wish to deal with the messengers of *kārum* Durhumit and asks for those of *kārum* Kanesh, "my fathers. Let them come here and it is from them that I will take the oath".

was an issue to be handled by *kārum* Kanesh, together with the "Envoys of the City", to whom this letter is indeed addressed. Similarly, a letter of the *wabartum* of Šamuha to *kārum* Kanesh (VS 26, 195 = CMK 56) deals with the seizure by the local palace of a large quantity of wool, again a diplomatic problem. This letter reports that it has been solved and that the wool in question is now being brought to Kanesh by "your messengers". These last words reveal that in the first phase of conflict the *wabartum* of Šamuha had turned to *kārum* Kanesh, which had sent its messengers with instructions to the palace and the *wabartum*, messengers who can now return to report that the crisis is over. The *wabartum* of Kuššara also writes directly to *kārum* Kanesh when two Assyrians were killed in the land of Luhusaddia (Kayseri 1830 = CMK 59). That *wabartum* Wašhanian writes the (damaged) letter KTK 5 (CMK 54) to *kārum* Kanesh and not to *kārum* Waššušana, can be explained from the fact that the issue reported concerns travelers (*ālikū*, hence a caravan), which had arrived from Waššušana and apparently were on their way to Kanesh. The system apparently had some flexibility and we have to take the subject matter of the letters, the past history of the relations between the various cities, and also practical matters into consideration before using them for a reconstruction of the administrative system and the diplomatic procedures.

*Wabartums* too enjoyed a measure of administrative competence, primarily that of solving problems and passing judgments in conflicts between its members, presumably in cases that arose locally (e.g. by private summons, distress, accusations, etc.). Some *wabartums* which acted in this way (those of Hanaknak, Ulama, and Zalpa) are at times even qualified as "plenary" (*šaher rabi*), which implies a certain size and the existence of an executive body of "big members",<sup>787</sup> and also of certain facilities, as is shown by the mention in kt 00/k 7:3f. (Donbaz 2004, 184) of "Zua, the scribe of the *wabartum* of Wašhanian". What further facilities a *wabartum* had, e.g. for storage and meeting, is not known and a "*wabartum* office" (*bēt wabartim*) is not attested. According to kt 89/k 230 (courtesy Kawasaki) two traders who entered Hanaknak were seized in the *bēt kārim*, obviously in this town, and this leaves us with the question whether this expression was a scribal mistake or was used as a substitute for a never attested \**bēt wabartim*.

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<sup>787</sup> See Hecker 2003.



The existence of treaties between the Assyrians and the rulers of the various cities in Anatolia has been known for a long time, especially from references in official letters about the swearing of the relevant oaths.<sup>788</sup> The contents of these treaties are being gradually recovered and the recent publication of two new ones (in Günbattı 2004, see below, § 2) is an important step in a development that this chapter wants to trace. It can be divided into four phases.

A. A first reconstruction of the substance of the treaties was based on what letters tell us about the procedures followed when a caravan arrived at and was cleared in an Anatolian palace and about what was said during confrontations between Assyrians and local rulers when problems had arisen. This exhibits a fairly regular pattern, which can be translated into a set of stipulations.

B. Next we have the rather poor remains of a treaty concluded ca. 1740 BC. between Assur and the ruler of the city of Apūm (Tell Leilan),<sup>789</sup> a stop for Assyrian caravans, and already during the level II period the seat of an Assyrian *kārum* (see above, ch. IV, 2.1, comments on no. 2), located roughly 300 kms. to the northwest of Assur, in the northeastern part of the Khabur Triangle, on the Wadi Jarrah.

C. In 1994 Bilgiç published kt n/k 794, from *kārum* Kanesh level II, the texts and the report on the conclusion of a treaty with the ruler of a town whose name is not mentioned, presumably somewhere in Southern Anatolia.<sup>790</sup>

D and E. Finally, two large, but damaged new treaties, concluded with Kanesh (D) and Hahhum (E), discovered in 2000 in a house belonging to *kārum* Kanesh level Ib and edited in Günbattı 2004.

### 1. Earlier data on treaties

A. The contents of the treaties as reconstructed from data in the archival records were summarized by Larsen 1976, 245f., as follows:

*The rulers or palaces are entitled to:*

- a) Five percent of the textiles and of 2/65th of the tin (which equals four minas per donkey load), designated as *nishatu*-tax.<sup>791</sup>
- b) Buying another ten percent (called "tithe", *išrātum*, or "those to be bought", *ša šimim*) of the imported textiles.
- c) A monopoly on the trade in iron and lapis lazuli.

*The Assyrians were granted:*

- d) Residence rights, presumably with protection, in their *kāruns* and *wabartums*.
- e) Extraterritorial rights, so that the colonies were in a political and juridical sense extensions of the government of Assur.
- f) Protection of the roads and guarantees against losses due to attacks and robbery in the territory controlled by the king.

<sup>788</sup> See the analysis of the texts then available in Garelli 1963, 329ff., Larsen 1976, 249ff., and for many letters CMK, chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>789</sup> Edited in Eidem 1991.

<sup>790</sup> New editions by Çeçen-Hecker 1995 and quite recently in Günbattı 2004, 250, editor's note.

<sup>791</sup> The odd last figure was derived from the standard load of tin carried by a donkey, 65 kilos, stored in two "half-packs". See for details, AOATT ch. II.

This reconstruction in the main still stands, but c) should be omitted, because it has become clear that there was no monopoly, although the palaces were eager to acquire these products (see below Db), in particular iron. Still, there may have been certain rules or restrictions concerning their sale,<sup>792</sup> just like their sale in Assur was concentrated in the City Office, which could thus regulate their circulation (see ch. II.2.3).

B. The unfortunately very damaged text of the treaty between Assur and Apûm, which is called a *nîš ilim*, an oath by the gods (III:14), starts with the invitation to swear (*tama*) by a great many gods, "great gods" and local deities, among which those of both parties,<sup>793</sup> those of the mountains, the land and the rivers, those of heaven and earth, and those of Amurru and Šubarûm. The Assyrians are the ones who address the ruler of Apûm in the second person, while they themselves figure as "we/us".

*Of the actual stipulations the following is preserved:*

- a) Col. II mentions "one donkey", copper and a *nishatu*-tax, which must understood as a kind of transit tax "per donkey", perhaps comparable to the one stipulated in Ce,<sup>794</sup> while the remarkable mention of copper (tin is absent!) could indicate the use of copper for payments and perhaps even imply that some donkeys carried loads of copper.
- b) The end of col. II stipulates that [Assyrian traders] who travel in the countryside and [*have been seized for illegal actions*] by the ruler, should be released by him after he has received their ransom (*iptirû*).<sup>795</sup>
- c) Col. III stresses the obligation to always speak "the truth in complete sincerity with us" and "to observe from this day onwards the text (*ša pi*) of this tablet which you have sworn to the city of Assur, the Assyrians (in the next lines specified as belonging to caravans "traveling up or down")<sup>796</sup> and the *kārum*.
- d) A very broken passage in col. III seems to deal with losses and, presumably, their compensation.
- e) Column IV first demands a fair and equal treatment of Assyrians and citizens of Apûm ("of your [city] and your land") and perhaps forbids the ruler to punish or assail (*šagašum*) Assyrians *in the same way as* (*kima* is restored) he can do his own citizens. The next clause deals with how to handle when the donkeys of "travelers in the countryside" (*ālik eqlim*) [and of] Assyrians have been seized [by] citizens of Apûm.<sup>797</sup>

<sup>792</sup> The idea of a monopoly of the palaces, which turned Assyrian trade in these items, or at least their sale to others, into a form of contraband, still upheld by Michel 2001a and CMK ch. 4, "La fraude", cannot be maintained, see Veenhof 2003d, 99ff.

<sup>793</sup> Among which the Assyrian Šamaš, Nergal of Hubšalum, Eštar Aššuritum, Bēlat-Apim, and Bēlat Ninuwa.

<sup>794</sup> Derksen 2004a, 158 with note 447, where he proposes to read, "per donkey (could we read 1ANŠE.T[A]?) .... in/from ..... you will take and ... " [*ta*]-*lā-qé-m*[a],

<sup>795</sup> This interpretation is suggested because it is the ruler who receives the ransom. OIP 27, 5:17 mentions that a local palace asks *iptirû* for the release of *hapirû* who are in jail, but we do not know why. The situation is different in CMK 58:33f., where Assyrians traders seem to have been kidnapped by natives who try to earn money from their ransom.

<sup>796</sup> *e-li-tim û a-ri-tim* (in I:28 possibly spelled *ārittim*), female adjectives which refer to *ellutum*, "caravan".

<sup>797</sup> The interpretation is difficult due to the breaks. I would prefer to read in IV:11f.: [*lu ša ā*] *lik eqlim* <sup>12</sup> [*lu ša DUM*]U <sup>d</sup>Aššur <sup>13</sup> [*DUMU a-li*]-*kā*

f) A final, broken section deals with the situation in which the ruler of Apûm is approached by another ruler(?), who wants to harm the Assyrians. He has to tell him that he is bound by the oath to Assur and the local *kārum* [and therefore refuses to join him] by saying "Go away. ....".<sup>798</sup>

C. The treaty with an unknown ruler, recorded on the well preserved tablet kt n/k 794, that contains the stipulations of the treaty (lines 1-28) and also relates (lines 29-42) how it was sworn to by a ruler who apparently had succeeded his father on the throne (see below, stipulation d) and was accepted by the members of his court. The abrupt beginning, "In your land no losses whatsoever shall occur", matches a similar stipulation on losses in the new treaty with Hahhum (below **Ed**), where, however, it appears in a slightly expanded version and in the body of the treaty text.<sup>799</sup> This allows the possibility that kt n/k 794 was the second of a set of two tablets, presumably because the treaty text was very long, in which case the missing first tablet might have contained the invocation of the gods, with which in B and E start. But the atypical nature of C, with at the end a unique report on the swearing of the oath, should make us cautious, and it would not be surprising if the text started with the for the Assyrians vital stipulation which aimed at preventing all losses.

Our tablet does not mention the ruler's city, but it has to be located somewhere in the area where the Euphrates was crossed, because the Assyrians promise to send him tin from Hahhum, if due to hostilities (*nukurtum*) no caravans visit his town and he is temporarily deprived of income.<sup>800</sup> The stipulations are in the form of an injunction, in the second person singular, to the ruler (in the subjunctive since they are made under oath), while the Assyrians figure in the first person plural and those in Hahhum, who will send him some tin, as "they". The tablet ends with a description of how the ruler swore oath, while performing certain symbolic actions, and how treaty also accepted by members of the court or local officials.

*The obligations of the ruler are:*

- a) To prevent losses (*huluqqā'ū*)<sup>801</sup> for Assyrians (DUMU *Aššur*) and if they occur to search (*še'ā'um*) for the lost goods and return them to their owners.
- b) To prevent bloodshed (*damū*) of Assyrians and if it occurs to extradite the culprits to be killed by the Assyrians.

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etc., because there is too little room for [*lu ša a-li*]-*kā*. This means that the former suffer from actions by the latter.

<sup>798</sup> Interpretation suggested by Eidem on the basis of similar passages in other treaties from Tell Leilan, where a ruler says: "Go off, and like an ignoramus kill Till Abnû!" The "ignoramus", presumably *lā mūdūm*, is somebody who is willing to commit the crime, because he does not know or understand the curses implied by the invocations of the gods. Such people were also used to destroy written monuments (royal inscriptions and *kudurrus*) protected by curses (references in CAD M/II 167f.)

<sup>799</sup> "Whatsoever" is expressed by "neither rope, nor peg, nor anything whatsoever", and see for the version in III [II]:16f. of the Hahhum treaty, below § 2.2., j) and note 849; see also Dercksen 2004a, 276.

<sup>800</sup> One might think of Hahhum's neighbours to the south and north, Batna and Timilkia, mentioned as such in the new treaty (D-2, IIII:26f.), but Timilkia seems to be too important for assigning its ruler the small amounts on tin and silver mentioned in kt n/k 794.

<sup>801</sup> The text uses the plural in the general statement, but the singular for a particular loss that might occur (*nabšūm*).

c) Not to attempt to attract<sup>802</sup> Akkadian traders to his land and to extradite those who might cross his borders to the Assyrians to be killed.

d) Not to demand anything which exceeds what is agreed upon in this treaty, which is also what his father thus far had received.

*The ruler is entitled to:*

e) 12 shekels of tin and 1 1/4 shekel of silver for every donkey that passes on the way to Anatolia or to Assur.

f) 5 minas of tin will be sent him from Hahhum, if there are hostilities (*nukurtum*) and consequently (*mā*) no caravans visit his town.

The text is interesting in describing how the ruler accepted the stipulations<sup>803</sup> by raising his hand and swearing by Aššur, the weather-god, the netherworld, and the spirit of his father,<sup>804</sup> and by pouring out the contents of a cup. At the end we read: "They said: "If we reject the oath sworn to you our blood shall be shed like (the contents of) this cup!", where the "we" shows that alongside the ruler also his court and officials accepted the stipulations under oath. The plural in "your oath" indicates that it was administered by an Assyrian deputation, probably sent by *kārum* Kanesh. While the text states what the Assyrians will do in certain situations, it is basically a kind of loyalty oath sworn by the ruler and his court, in which it is stated what "you will/must (not) do". The treaty is also special because the ruler's town apparently is not one where traders cleared their merchandise for selling it in its territory. Therefore there are no references to the taxes (*nishatum* and *tiṭe*) accorded to local palaces by stipulations a) and b) of A and only a very small payment as a kind of transit tax. Points d) and e) of A also do not apply, since the town does not seem to have harboured an Assyrian commercial settlement. To understand the amount the ruler receives per donkey, we have start from the "declared value" (*awītum*) of the caravan goods, expressed in tin,<sup>805</sup> for which one textiles was considered the equivalent of 2 minas of tin and about the same amount was reckoned for the donkey. Since one donkey usually carried ca. 130 minas of tin plus 4 textiles, or ca. 25 to 30 textiles plus a few minas of tin, the 12 shekels of tin (of which the 1 1/4 shekel of silver apparently was considered the equivalent) amount to between 0,04 and 0,08 percent of the value of one donkey load. Small as the percentage was, if the ruler's town was on the caravan road he could have expected many times these amounts. It must have amounted to much more than the mere five minas (or 300 shekels) of tin, the equivalent of what twenty-five passing donkeys would yield him, which were promised him if there was no caravan traffic (though this situation need not have lasted a full season). For the Assyrians these small payments did add up, since records of caravan expenses (met from the "loose tin" made available to the caravan leader) show

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<sup>802</sup> In line 12, *lā tušellā* admits a more passive translation, "to allow to come up", and a more active one, "to make come up", almost by invitation.

<sup>803</sup> Part of the oath and the symbolic actions, which mention the overturning of a table and a throne accompanied by an additional statement of the ruler, are not clear.

<sup>804</sup> *eṭammi abišu*, not *abbā'ēšu*, hence singular.

<sup>805</sup> See Dercksen 2004a, 151, whose figures are now confirmed by kt g/t 199 (Günbattı 2002).

they had to be made in many towns passed en route, and not only to the ruler or mayor, but frequently also to other local officials.<sup>806</sup>

## 2. *The new treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum*

The two new treaties, D and E, with Kanesh and with Hahhum, are extremely welcome and we are grateful to Günbatı for having made them available so soon. Both tablets, especially the second, have suffered damage and the reading and interpretation are at times difficult, also because of their unique character. What follows is based on the *editio princeps* and in the absence of a copy of the cuneiform text and with only photos available, it is difficult to make progress with the damaged lines, but occasionally I will make a proposal, usually based on the photos, the context or my understanding of OA terminology. My summary of the contents, below, from time to time mentions key words of the Assyrian texts, and footnotes occasionally quote a few lines, but the transliteration of the recent *editio princeps* is not repeated.

The treaties are important because both cities were not simple road stations on the way to Anatolia, as were B and C, but important trading centres with Assyrian *kārum*s, where imported goods were cleared in the palaces for local or regional sale, though the role of Hahhum and Kanesh in the trade must have been different. There is a complication, because both treaties are from the level Ib period, when changes in the system had taken shape. Dercksen 2001a, 63ff., has recently described the situation, which due to the limited number of sources leaves several questions open, but is the only picture we have and against the background of which the new treaties have to be appreciated. It shows that there still was trade in tin, textiles and wool, that *kārum* Kanesh still functioned as administrative centre and highest judicial authority of a fair number (at least fifteen) of commercial settlements, that the important "*dātu*-payers" were still around, and that contacts with Assur were maintained. But we do not have the typical "caravan records" (as defined in Larsen 1967), which report on the selection, quantities and prices of the merchandise bought in Assur and on their arrival and sale in Anatolia. We also have no evidence for joint-stock companies (*naruqqum*) and for the role of the *kārum* in "communal transactions", and contacts with Assur (and perhaps also between *kārum* Kanesh and other settlements) were occasionally apparently difficult or interrupted, as is clear from the fact that in the *kārum* of Hattuš the name of the new eponym appointed in Assur once remained unknown for nearly two years. But there were partnerships (*tappa'ūtum*), also between Assyrians and Anatolians, such as the one documented in kt n/k 32,<sup>807</sup> presumably from the early years of level Ib, in which the partners wanted to trade in silver, gold, cups of iron, tin, textiles, slaves and lapis lazuli, both in Kanesh and in Mamma. We also have evidence of commercial loans and service contracts (from the archive of Eddin-Aššur in Kanesh), which imply the use of transporters and agents, and data from Mari show that large caravans were still leaving Assur for Anatolia (see above ch. III.2.3). But the quantities of tin mentioned are modest, the assortment of textiles shows changes, with fewer *kuṭānu*-textiles (predominant during the level II period) and more products called *kuššatum* and *saqqum*, and also the Anatolian *pa/ira/ikannu*-textiles. "Except for the remaining wealthy traders a general impoverishment is discernable, expressing itself not only in the volume of merchandise,

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<sup>806</sup> See the edition and discussion of such records by Nashef 1987, especially nos. 24 and 25, which concern the passage through Northern Mesopotamia.

<sup>807</sup> See for this document Dercksen 2004b, 166f.

but also in the number of cases where Assyrians had been detained by a native creditor for insolvency".<sup>808</sup>

The limited number of sources asks for caution and it seems possible that some of the facts just mentioned were the outcome of a development within the Late Old Assyrian Period, e.g. after the death of Šamši-Adad I and the end of Hammurabi's reign. The situation may then have become more difficult for caravans, as the dramatic letter kt 98/k 118, addressed by "the merchants in distress" to "the gods and the city of Assur" shows, when they complain about risky journeys, revolt and threats by the *habbātu*, which means financial losses and poverty.<sup>809</sup> Dangerous situations are also implied by the newly discovered letter addressed to king Hurmeli of Harsamna, which informs us about his war with Zalpa and his request of Assyrian aid (see above ch. III.2.3, with note 649). It is possible that the situation in Kanesh, the "colonial capital", (at first?) was (still) better than in outlying areas and that the archive of Eddin-Aššur, which evokes the picture of successful trade, reflects this situation, although the value of the merchandise and claims registered in its texts are modest, never more than a few minas of silver and there are no letters on caravan traffic with Assur.<sup>810</sup> The question whether the new treaties with Kanesh and Hahhum reflect these changes will be considered after I have presented their substance. But it is clear that the relations with both obviously do not cover the large areas east, west and north of Kanesh, but only Kanesh and the region where the Euphrates was crossed. The treaty with Hahhum considers the possibility of military conflicts with its southern and northern neighbour, Batna and Timilkia, but its date remains uncertain. While admitting that style, writing and language of the tablets do not exhibit typically late features, we can only guess when and why the treaties were concluded. If not at the very beginning of the level Ib period, when the commercial relations were resumed, then probably later, in connection with a change of rule, because the loyalty oath only bound the ruler who had sworn it. This could be on the occasion of regular succession, as when the ruler of Wašhanina was succeeded by his son and the latter asked the Assyrians "make me swear the oath"; see KTP 14 = CMK 40). But it could also be due to a conquest by a new ruler, which must have happened at Kanesh later during the Ib period, when Pithana (who conquered Kanesh), his son Anitta or Zuzu of Alahzina occupied the throne of Kanesh (see above III.2.3 and 4). The very end of the Kanesh treaty mentions the ruler whom it concerned, whose name is missing due to damage, but he bears the title "the great king of Kanesh". This leaves us, as far as we know, with two candidates, Anitta and Zuzu, who occur as such in some 'notarizations' (see above IV.2.5.1). It is difficult to date them, but Anitta may belong in the period after ca. 1770 BC, and Zuzu most probably is a still later conqueror.

## 2.1. THE TREATY WITH KANESH

<sup>808</sup> Dercksen 2001a, 66.

<sup>809</sup> Edited in Dercksen - Donbaz 2001; *habbātu* probably were a kind of mercenaries.

<sup>810</sup> See for this archive, which consists of tablets with low kt n/k numbers, Veenhof 1998a, 441; for kt n/k 27, Donbaz 2004a, 180; and for kt n/k 32, Dercksen 2004b, 166. Kt n/k 5 is a verdict by the *wabartum* of Mamma about the settlement of a debt owed to an Anatolian, kt n/k 10 one by *kārum* Kanesh about a piece of lapis lazuli shipped from Zalpa to Mamma and then to Hattuš, which had been sold eight years ago and still had not been paid. Kt n/k 33 is a quittance about the payment for 90 *parakannu*-textiles, deposited in Eddin-Aššur's house.

This treaty, D, is preserved on a large, damaged one-column tablet with ninety lines of text. A year after Günbatti 2004 it was also published, independently, by Donbaz 2005, with photos, a cuneiform copy and short comments. The differences between both editions, especially in their renderings of the remains of the first 15 lines (line 14 of Donbaz is line 16 in Günbatti's edition!) show how serious the damage of the obverse is. The present writer, having been unable to study the tablet itself and working from the photos (those in Günbatti are larger and sharper) and Donbaz's copy, faced a difficult job. In general, also on the basis of my analysis of the contents of the text, I am much more in agreement with Günbatti's readings. The comparison between both editions could result in a number of detailed observations on the possible reading and restoration of the text, but this volume is not the place to do so, certainly not without having studied the tablet. Therefore, in what follows I follow Günbatti's *edition princeps*, while adding occasional remarks on my preferences for certain readings or restorations.

The treaty starts with a very damaged invocation of the gods,<sup>811</sup> first those of the land of Kanesh and the mountain A<sup>3</sup>askasipa, probably mount Erciyes (Günbatti),<sup>812</sup> then, after a small gap, the moongod and the sungod and after again a gap Kubaba. Her mention may indicate that the whole (first?) sequence consisted of gods of the land of Kanesh, reason for me to write "moongod and sungod", without identifying them as the Assyrian gods Suen and Šamaš. It is not clear whether in what follows (in lines 4ff.) also Assyrian gods were invoked, since no names of them have been recognized in what remains of the text. In treaty B, with Apum, they do occur in a mixture of "great gods", Assyrian gods (see note 793) and local deities, but the cultural environment of this city, in the orbit of Mesopotamia, was different from that of Kanesh. Moreover the beginning of the Kanesh treaty (with its unintelligible first line) also seems to be different from that of B, where each line starts with "Swear by ... " (*tama*).

When the text again becomes readable (line 12) we find a series of stipulations in which the ruler of Kanesh is addressed in the second person singular,<sup>813</sup> some of which are difficult to understand because the tablet is damaged. The text ends, in lines 89-90 (Donbaz 87-88) with the warning: "These gods, the lords of your (sing.) oath, will watch you!", followed by the statement: "The oath of [...], great [king] of Kanesh", where unfortunately the name of the king is missing.

*The stipulations concern:*

a) Imported textiles (at least 12-23), with mention of *kutānum*, *raqqutum* and *kusitum*. First are mentioned those which the ruler seems to be entitled to "take" (*laqā'um*, lines 12f., specifications broken off), presumably as *nishatu*-tax,<sup>814</sup> and (also?) for his personal wear (*ša litabšika*), but he is forbidden to appropriate (*eṭārum*) them by force

<sup>811</sup> But we do not know whether the gods were the object of an imperative *tama* (as in B).

<sup>812</sup> Donbaz's tentative reading [*K*]*ā-ni-ī[š]* at the beginning of line 3 does not agree with the traces visible on the photo.

<sup>813</sup> This applies also to verbal forms with a double subjunctive ending *-u-ni*, which by themselves could be plural, because they alternate with indicative forms in the singular (e.g. 68-70, *lā taddununi ....talaqqe*).

<sup>814</sup> Likely (in line 12 *-ha-* is still readable), because lines 19f. state what he can buy "after you have taken the *nishatum* you are entitled to", and since otherwise the basic right to and rate of this tax would not have been stated.

or below the price (*ana šimim batqim*). Next it is stated that, apart from the *nishatu*-tax, he can buy a few *makuḫu*.<sup>815</sup> and two *kutānu*-textiles at [x shekels] of silver apiece.

The syntax of lines 19ff. is difficult. Günbatti takes *ana šimim ša* in 21 as "as preemption of (the *makuḫu*-textiles)". Pre-emption (during the level II period) indeed regularly follows the levy of the *nishatu*-tax, but for pre-emption I would expect *ana šimim lū talaqqe ʿuni*, followed by the price (cf. AOATT 369f.). *Ana šimim ša* occurs as "as payment for/price for", but then we need a relative *ša*, to arrive at : "As price of ... the textiles, which you take, you will pay x shekels of silver per ....", but there is no *ša*. The end of line 21 has *ku-ta-ni-/im* (IM on the right edge above NI).

Due to damage of the tablet it is not clear where the next paragraph starts, it could already be at the end of l. 23, "When..." (*inūm*), but the figure 10 (line 26) better fits a stipulation on textiles than one on lapis lazuli or iron.

b) Lapis lazuli and iron (28ff. or earlier until 39a). If an Assyrian offers such an item for sale "he sells to you if he likes it" (*šumma tābšum*, apparently the price offered), if not, "you must give (it) back and he can bring it where he wishes".<sup>816</sup> The verb "to give back" implies that the items were presented to the ruler for inspection (because there were differences in quality and probably shape; see below § 3.4.2) and to make price offer. It is followed by unclear clauses, which seem to mean that the ruler in the latter case nowhere in his land will *interfere*<sup>817</sup> with what the "owner of the iron" does.

Line 28, where lapis lazuli appears, remains unclear, especially the final [x x]-BL<sub>4</sub>-iš-tim, which does not fit the masc. noun *husārum*. The link between lapis lazuli and iron (lines 28-30) is unclear, because the text only speaks of returning "his iron", and what follows also deals only with iron. The clauses on lapis lazuli may have started. Nowhere in your land" summarizes a remarkable sequence of locations, which presents problems, because it is strange to find twice "in which cannot be [m]a-ti-kā, where the reading first signs is also somewhat doubtful; the convincing restoration [ū a-ti]-kà in line 34 means that line 33 had an additional sign (LI ends where in 34 GA ends). Whatever the exact reading of these lines (one would like to find something like "on the squares and in the streets"), they suggest that the Assyrian traders, like peddlers, would try to sell these items in many locations.

c) Murder (*damum inneppas*) and losses (*huluqqā ʿum*; 39-45). They are mentioned together as the result of an attack or a robbery, but losses are treated again, more in detail, in e). Bloodshed (*damū*) has to be compensated by paying the fixed (standard) amount (*šimtum*) of silver as compensation and the culprit shall be handed over to the Assyrians in order to kill him, without the possibility of substitution (*pūham tadānum*). The missing goods (found with the perpetrator) shall be returned

d) Administration of justice (46-57). This stipulation was presumably triggered by the previous one on killing and robbery, since these actions must have led to a lawsuit and verdict. It demands a fair judgment in a trial which involves both a native Kaneshite and

<sup>815</sup> Specifications unknown, but regularly bought by local palaces, see AOATT 169, 14.

<sup>816</sup> The spelling *a-ši-šu* (also in 36 and 38) is remarkable, since suffixed forms of *ašium* in the accusative are of the type *a-ši-a-kā* (ATHE 62:38) and *a-ši-aš-nu* (ATHE 64:30).

<sup>817</sup> *tū-ša-[i-ū]-ni* in 34 is unclear, it cannot be derived from *waššurum*, "to let free", nor from *šarru ʿum*, "to take the initiative, to begin doing something", used in lines 52 and 55 in the hendiadys *ušarrama ... ilaqqe*, "he will take first" (twice followed by *urkatam*; it occurs also in the testament kt o/k 196c:16, Albayrak 2000, and in accounting notes dealing with the proceeds of a caravan), see Dercksen 2004a, 178 note 478, *EL* 287:17ff., and *CAD* Š/III, 359, 2'. "Interference" in our text is suggested by the word "before him or after him" of 35.



an Assyrian, without [*favouring*<sup>21</sup>] "your own citizen". It is applied in particular to conflicts about debt liabilities, where the creditor, irrespective of whether he is Kaneshite or an Assyrian, has priority in realizing his claims (see note 816).

e) Lost textiles (57-61). The ruler will search and return the textiles that got lost "in his city and land" and compensate their owner if they are not found on the basis of a declaration under oath (presumably on their number and value) by the latter.

f) Protection of Assyrian households against private high-handed actions by the citizens of and other people living in Kanesh (61-63).

Since the treaty wants to protect the interests of the Assyrian trading community, "the house of a *tamkārum*, (of) a widow" must refer to them. The mention of the widow acknowledges the fact that some continued to live in Kanesh (in the house their husband had assigned to them in his testament) and they may have been singled out as more vulnerable to high-handed actions. The protection consist of not allowing citizens of Kanesh and *hapirū* to go to the houses of the Assyrians and uses the verb *waššurum*. Used with a personal accusative object it normally means "to let go, set free, release", used in particular of persons who are in somebody's power or custody (as pledge, slave, or child; see ATHE 47:9; BIN 4, 2:21; 6, 19:6, and cf. *El* II p. 53), or, with *ana* + personal dative object, "to relinquish, to hand over" a person to somebody, into somebody's power (CCT 2, 36a:24, a boy *ana mammar*; 5, 16b:5, a slave for a certain period *ana PN*). The treaty uses the latter construction, but it can hardly mean that a Kaneshite and *hapirum* shall not be delivered to the household (into the power) of an Assyrian, since this would have been in his interest, as or as plaintiff (if the person was handed over as penalty for a crime). The meaning here has to be (although I cannot adduce a parallel for this uses of *waššurum ana*) that the ruler must not allow, not leave a free hand to his citizens and other people who had taken refuge and stayed as foreigners in his city,<sup>818</sup> to go to, to get at the household of an Assyrian to obtain satisfaction for a claim (comparable to OB *ana bit PN šasā'um*, "to dun somebody's household"), or to solve a conflict by forceful private action. Positively: the ruler must interfere and prevent such private attacks on Assyrian households; this makes a good transition to paragraph g), where the ruler's own interests are at stake.

g) Protection of Assyrian property (64-68). The ruler of Kanesh shall not covet and appropriate by force any Assyrian property (houses, slaves, fields, and gardens) and (or: in order to) give it to a servant of his.

h) Anatolian textiles (lines 69-72). The ruler can take ten percent of the *parakannu*-textiles (brought into his city) as *nishatu*-tax, but those taken at the city gate will fetch their full price.

i) Fugitive debtors (72-77). If an Assyrian indebted to a Kaneshite flees to another land, no other trader (=Assyrian)<sup>819</sup> shall be seized in his place, only the debtor in question (*habbulānum*) will be sued for the capital owed.

j) Administrative and legal measures (78-85). Assyrians shall not be affected when the ruler registers his subjects for performing service duties (*unuššum*).<sup>820</sup> And when he

<sup>818</sup> There is even a year-eponym in Assur (no. 49) who was a *hapirum*. The reading *ša [ha]pirim* in the Hahhum treaty (see below E1) is not convincing, but *hapirū* are attested in level Ib texts, see Dercksen 2001a, 43. OA also knows the verb *hab/pārum*, "to take refuge, flee" (BIN 6, 226B:16, a debt-slave *ippān hubullišu ih-BI-ar*, Kienast 1984, no. 29), also known at Mari (see ARMT 14, p. 228 on 50:14).

<sup>819</sup> There are several examples of *tamkārum* used for "Assyrian", especially when contrasted with *nu'ā'um*, "native (Anatolian)", kt f/k 101:223f., "to the debtors of your father, *lu nu'ā'ē lu tamkārē*", kt n/k 141, the divorced wife can go where she wishes, either to a *nu'ā'um* or to a *tamkārum*".

<sup>820</sup> See for this term now Dercksen 2004b, 140ff.

[effectuates] the manumission (*addurārum*) of (debt)-slaves and slave-girls [*it shall not apply to those of the Assyrians*].<sup>821</sup>

k) Trade during war (87). Presumably stating that the ruler must let the Assyrian caravans depart (*harrānam waššurum*), also when he is in hostility [with (?). . . .] (*inūm*) *nakrātini* ).

l) Oath procedures (88f.). When - in a conflict or during a trial before the local ruler - Assyrians have to swear an oath they will do so only by the emblems of Assur.<sup>822</sup>

m) The last two lines state that "these gods" - those invoked at the beginning of the text, - "lords of the oath", will watch (*dagālum*) the ruler (to see whether he lives up to it), and they identify him as "the great [king] of Kanesh".

## 2.2. THE TREATY WITH HAHHUM

E is the damaged upper half of a large tablet, which originally may have contained ca. 250 lines, of which less than half are preserved and many of which, especially on the reverse, are damaged. I have to start my remarks by proposing a reconstruction of the text which differs substantially from the presented by Günbattı. What is col. III in his reconstruction of this two-column tablet (unique at *kārum* Kanesh), should be col. IV, reading the text in this way one discovers that the subject matter of the end of what is now col. III, the proper administration of justice, continues on what is Günbattı's col. II. which then suggests to exchange the obverse en reverse of the editio princeps. This is possible since nothing of the left edge remains and Günbattı offers no arguments for his choice. In this reconstruction the first half of col. I [III] is missing, and its first part offers sufficient room for the invocation of the gods, which is present in treaty D. Where col. I become readable we have three clauses in which the magnates of Hahhum are enjoined "to exert themselves" (*šutamrušum*) to do something (object missing), which may well be the end of the introductory section, which asks them "to do their utmost" to implement the substance of the treaty. After that, quite naturally, the first concrete subject is related to the arrival of Assyrian caravans and the question what the magnates of Hahhum may acquire from it, by purchase or as levy. After a stipulation on the continuation of the trade in times of war (I [III]:26'ff.) there follows a long gap and when the text resumes it still or again deals with the prerogative of the magnates (II [IV]:1'-14'), followed by stipulations on losses and bloodshed suffered by the Assyrians (II [IV]:15'-22'). Then we have stipulations on the administration of justice (if there is a "case", *awātum*, l. 24') demanding fair and public treatment, without secrecy but with a public announcement (II [IV]:23'-32'). This subject continues on the rev. without a gap, in col III [II]:1-10, which mentions a "decision" (*nikištum*, l. 1), a "contractual judgment(?)" (*din ri-<k>sātīm*, l. 5), and a fair procedure (*ina kinātīm diānum*, l. 10). To help the reader references to the text of the treaty always give my column numbering followed by that of Günbattı between square brackets (e.g. I [III]:10').

<sup>821</sup> The passage is badly damaged, but one expects *tašakkununi* at the beginning of line 84. The purpose of the stipulation must be to protect the Assyrian interests ("you shall not seize them - slaves owned by Assyrians - by force"). See for another occurrence of *addurārum*, apparently a cancellation of debts, III.1.3, with note 578.

<sup>822</sup> When the Assyrians, in the case of trader caught for treason (reported in kt n/k 504, see Günbattı 2001, 152), offer that the accused can either "swear by Assur's dagger or go to the river (ordeal) as one of your citizens", the seriousness of the case probably induces them to make a concession.

As is obvious from the photographs we have only ca. half of the tablet and this contains many damaged lines, so that many stipulations remain unknown or are poorly understood. What is preserved shows that the treaty covered more issues and was at times more detailed than D, and some may have been due to the specific nature and role of Hahhum, at the crossing of the Euphrates (the stipulations on "the ferryman" in III [II]:11f.), where one entered Anatolia, and the particular political structure of the city, without a king and with a few magnates as treaty partners. The text may also have taken into account past experiences with the city, and perhaps also difference in date played a role. The general scarcity of data from the level Ib period makes it difficult to give an answer, but one would have expected the long traditions of such treaties with Anatolian rulers to have resulted in a more or less fixed formulary covering the main issues, of which there are certainly traces (main subjects, the formulation that "no losses whatsoever" are accepted, see note 799), but the variation is substantial.

An important difference is that the Hahhum treaty addresses the Anatolian partners always in the plural, apparently because it was concluded with the court or the palace organization. That the ruler, attested for level II (where he is designated both as LUGAL and as *rubā'um*),<sup>823</sup> is never mentioned in the text of a treaty normally concluded with the ruler, suggests that there was none; even if the "son-in-law" (*hatunum*, I [III]:10', II [IV]:4') was (to be?) married to his daughter, he himself remains absent. This situation reminds me of that described in the letter CCT 4, 30a (cf. CCT 6, 15b, see CMK 98-99), from level II, which mentions that the "king" (LUGAL) has committed bloodshed and that his throne is not secure, and that (consequently) the *rubā'ū* (plural), "are watching each other", and they are the ones who negotiate with an Assyrian delegation about the oath, an occasion where one would expect the king himself.<sup>824</sup> Perhaps the situation described in these two letters led to the expulsion of the king and the establishment of an oligarchy consisting of *rubā'ū*, a situation which then might have continued into the time to which this treaty dates, at least three to four generations later.

Hahhum was an important city, well attested during the level II period (see ch. IV.2.1 no. 8),<sup>825</sup> seat of an Assyrian *kārum* and the texts mention several traders who lived there. It was a commercial centre and prominent road station for Assyrian caravans on the way to Anatolia, strategically located in the area where the Euphrates was crossed (as is clear from the stipulations in this treaty, see below under j).<sup>826</sup> Several letters mention traders who passed through or visited Hahhum on their way to Anatolia or Assur, and there are references to wool and textiles of this city. There is also some evidence that merchandise imported from Assur was kept in store there or changed hands, presumably because the city was located at the southern border of Anatolia, from where caravans might leave in various directions. KUG 13:20 speaks of "textiles of (in) Hahhum", presumably belonging to Suejja, who, according to BIN 6, 35:6f. had "entrusted merchandise in Hahhum". According to kt m/k 8:5ff. five donkeys loaded with

<sup>823</sup> See above IV.2, comments on 8.

<sup>824</sup> The first letter in lines 8ff. speaks of "the copies of the oath which they offer us, addressed to/written down for the *kārum* (Kanesh?)" (*mehṛāt mamitīm ša ukallūniātini ana kārum lapputānim*); see also Larsen 1976, 271f. The second mentions that "the *rubā'ū* refused to listen to the written message sent them by the *kārum*".

<sup>825</sup> See Garelli 1998b, but I do not believe that its ruler figures in KKS 2.

<sup>826</sup> See for Hahhum as road station, Nashef 1987, 61f., and we now have several additional references to confirm it. Note KUG 22:6ff., "in all 16 minas and 16 shekels of silver, expenses from Hahhum until Assur as calculated and established".

merchandise were entrusted to a transporter for shipment to Kanesh, and in BIN 4, 7:11ff. a trader, who plans to travel with a caravan of seventeen donkeys to Kanesh, writes that he wants to "select hundred textiles of good quality in Hahhum" and to spend all the silver he still has.<sup>827</sup> KTS 36c shows that one could sell imported textiles there in order to buy Anatolian *saptinnū's*, which were to be shipped on. According to TC 3, 208 three donkeys loaded with textiles and tin, which had arrived from Assur, were "given" there to a transporter to bring them to Mamma, and Garelli 1964, 59 no. 4 mentions copper in deposit in Hahhum.

These references indicate that the city served in particular as a transit centre and entrepôt, with good facilities, where many traders and caravans would meet, goods could change hands on their way to Anatolia, and where also native textile products and wool could be bought. To what extent the area around the city also functioned as a market for selling what the Assyrians imported is not clear. We have almost no data on the city during the level Ib period, but OIP 27, 7+46b:1ff. mentions wool of Hahhum shipped to Amkuwa,<sup>828</sup> and the very damaged letter KBo 9, 7 refers to persons or goods arriving from Hahhum. We can do no better than assume that the city during this period, when it harbored an Assyrian *kārum*, played a similar role and try to understand the new treaty against this background.

The "magnates" mentioned in the treaty are three dignitaries, who are entitled to buy goods (at favorable prices), levy a tax and receive gifts. They are the *mūšium* (I [III]:8', 20', 23', II [IV]:1, 8', 11', 14'), "minister of export"(?),<sup>829</sup> the *šinahilum*, "second in command" (I [III]: 12', II [IV]:[4']),<sup>830</sup> and the *hatunum*, "son-in-law" (of the king?). Of these the *mūšium* is clearly the most important one, who is allowed to buy most textiles at the best prices, he receives or buys tin ([I] III:23') and acquires other goods as *nishatu*-tax (II [IV]:8'), in short he appears in stipulations comparable to those in which in D the king appears. Another difference is that this treaty repeatedly mentions *kārum Hahhum* and the inhabitants/members of the *kārum* (DUMU *kārim*), who are distinguished from DUMU *Hahhim*,<sup>831</sup> while the Kanesh treaty does not mention the *kārum*.<sup>832</sup> The mention of DUMU *Aššur* and DUMU *kārim Hahhim* (I:28f.) probably distinguishes visiting Assyrian traders (of "caravans going up and down", as in Bc) from Assyrians settled in the local *kārum*. Compare B III:9f., which mentions "the city of Assur, any Assyrian and the *kārum*" (of Apūm).

<sup>827</sup> There are a few more references to "selecting" (*be'ārum*) textiles, AKT 2, 34:5, 3, 47:18 and Cole 6:4 (Michel 1991d no. 242), and twice this happens in connection with losses, which have to be compensated, perhaps also in order to restore a caravan's full load.

<sup>828</sup> See Dercksen 2001a, 47, note 44. KBo 9, 28 rev., according to his note 118, does not mention Hahhum.

<sup>829</sup> The translation tries to express the meaning of the underlying verb *waṣā'um*, "to go out". See for this official, also attested in the city of Assur, where he was involved in the levy of the export tax, Dercksen 2004, 72 with note 236.

<sup>830</sup> See for him Veenhof 1993, 524.

<sup>831</sup> I do not consider Günbatt's emendation of *kārim Hahhim* in III [II]:2, 21 and II [IV]:25' into <DUMU> *kārim Hahhim*, necessary.

<sup>832</sup> Günbatt finds it in the Hahhum treaty, III [II]:19, *k[ā'-ri-']m<sup>1</sup> Kaniški*, but this reading is uncertain and the broken context unclear.

The stipulations as far as preserved and understandable, probably preceded by an invocation of the gods, concern:<sup>833</sup>

a) I [III]:1'-4'. The end of a number of general clauses which stress the obligation of the authorities of Hahhum "to do their utmost (*šutamrušum*) for/in order to [.....]".

The repeated *šutamrušum* presumably refers to the spirit that should govern the leaders of Hahhum in whatever they do to live up to the treaty and the oaths sworn, an interpretation also suggested by the way this verb is used in OA letters.<sup>834</sup>

b) Acquisition of textiles from a caravan which arrives from Assur (I [III]:5'-17'<sup>2</sup>) by the three magnates of the city:

<i>mūšium</i> , "minister of export" <sup>2</sup>	- 5 textiles at 6 2/3 shekels of silver apiece,
<i>hatunum</i> , "son-in-law" (of the ruler?)	- 2 textiles at 9 1/3 shekels of silver apiece,
<i>šināhilum</i> , "second in command"	- 1 textile for [12 <sup>2</sup> ] shekels of silver.

The first, who may have managed the flow of goods, was by far the most important and his status earns him more textiles at a lower price. Read in 6'ff. perhaps: "After you have [cleared<sup>2</sup>] 50, 100 or more loaded donkeys",<sup>835</sup> to indicate the norm for the pre-emption, but then the prerogatives of these officials were very modest compared to the right of the palaces during the period of level II and more like that of the ruler of C, who gets a little tin for every donkey load. Lines 13'f. could restrict or extend (the verb is missing) this right (*eššubātē* < *el-šubātē*, "apart from/beyond the textiles"), mentioning the more expensive ones (*abarnium*, *kusitum*) in connection with the *nishatu*-tax.

c) Acquisition of imported tin by the local dignitaries, very broken (I [III]:22'f. or earlier). Probably the right of some dignitaries to buy a certain amount for a fixed (favorable) price, or the mention of the fact that they were entitled to (modest) amounts of tin (per donkey load?) as a gift or transit fee, just like in C:18ff.

The paragraph on tin could have started in 18'b by mentioning the arrival of a caravan [with tin] (*[summa]a ellutum* [...]) and what the *mūšium* was entitled to acquire. But the fact that the *mūšium* is also the subject of line 23'f. is disturbing and why mention the purchase of tin for silver, which was always possible, while the level II treaties seem to have regulated only the *nishatu*-tax on tin? The alternative is to start the paragraph on tin in line 22' and to assume that the amounts (since no price is stated) were gifts. The sealer" (*kānikum*, line 25'), who also received some tin, presumably

<sup>833</sup> Uncertain translations and proposals to restore the damaged text are in italics.

<sup>834</sup> See some examples quoted in CAD M/I, 276, 8, with the comparative *kīma ša*, "just as if ...".

<sup>835</sup> I would read *ištu* 50 : 1 *me-at* | ANŠE.HI.A | *sé-er*-DIM | *ú eliš* [.....] *āni*, where *ištu* probably is the conjunction, "after you have .....". A reading 51 / *me-at*, "5100 (donkeys)", yields an odd and impossibly big number. See for *serdum* the combination *emārē serdam* in kt 92/k 203:29f.//200:26f., also with a plural noun (instead of normal *emārū sardūtum*, cf. TC 3, 28:6); the word looks more like a noun in apposition than an adjective. The verbal form which ends in ]-*a-ni* must be a second person plural, with the magnates of Hahhum as subject, perhaps a Š-stem of the verb *elā'um*, "to bring up (to the palace)" (*tušēliāni*), or perhaps from *zakku'um*, "to clear" (*tuzakkīāni*). The latter verb, in the G-stem, may occur in the comparable II [IV] 6'f., where Günbatliti reads [ANŠE.HI.A] *sé-er*-[*dim*] .....*ša ana* [/*i-bi a-lim*ki : *e-li-ū-ni*], where the donkeys would be the subject, which is excluded in our stipulation. See for the problems raised by his reading/ the remarks on this passage below under f).

was an official who sealed the containers after they had been opened for inspection and to produce the tin, before departure from Hahhum.<sup>836</sup>

d) Consequences of war (I [III]:26'-end) between Hahhum and the neighboring cities of Timilkia and Batna. It shall not induce Hahhum to forbid the Assyrian traders to *travel* (in both directions).<sup>837</sup> The words "Any Assyrian, wherever [...]" could be the remainder of a positive statement of the rights of the traders.

*Lacuna of at least 30 lines.*

e) The right to buy gold from caravans on the way to Assur (II [IV]:1'-5'), an interpretation demanded by the (damaged word) "gold" in line 4'. The "second in command", who in b) paid the highest price, still gets it at a favorable rate of exchange of 6:1, which is less than the normal rate of 8:1, current in Assur.

f) Further prerogatives to acquire goods from caravans traveling to Anatolia (II [IV]:6'-14'), damaged, but obvious from the mention of tin in II [IV]:13', but the prices one has to pay have disappeared.

Günbattni assumes that this part, just like e) concerns caravans going to Assur and reads in 7' [*ana libbi ālim<sup>ki</sup> elā'um*, "to go up to the Centre-of-the City",<sup>838</sup> and lets the *mūšium* acquire silver (as the ruler could in C) from caravans returning to Assur, which carried silver and gold. But the use of *Libbi'ālim* for Assur would be unique in OA, "silver" is completely restored, and for the trip to Assur *warādum*, "to go down", is common, not *elā'um*.<sup>839</sup> Since the goal of the caravan decides on its load and on what the officials in Hahhum can acquire from it, the mention of "tin" (if certain) in line 13' suggests a caravan on the way from Assur to Anatolia.<sup>840</sup>

The subject of lines 9'-14' is not clear, but they must add something new, since the *mūšium* appears again. They may concern a fee, paid in tin, perhaps for the passage of the donkeys and this would be confirmed if we could read [*ša nē]birim* in the beginning of 14', but this is not certain. Which rate is meant in 11' (5 grains of ... each) is not clear, but line 9' seems to speak of *gulgullū*, a rare term, presumably bolts of cloth, which could be stored in leather bags,<sup>841</sup> and this also suggests caravans en route for Anatolia.

g) Losses and blood-shed in Hahhum's territory (II [IV]:15'-22'). The second, which returns in i) as caused by a provoked shipwreck, is here treated more in general, together with murder, as in Dc. The culprits have to be caught and handed over for execution by the Assyrians, with the obligation to return the lost goods.

<sup>836</sup> One might read in 22'f.: [ x x x x AN.N]A *mūšium* 23' [*i-lā-qé* x GÍN I]5SE AN.NA 24' [official x GÍ]N AN.NA *kānikum*

<sup>837</sup> The reading [*lā ta-lā-[qé]* in 30' is doubtful, also because it is in the singular. I prefer "You shall not go to .....(*la ta-[ā-kā]*). In 26' the conjunction probably was [*inūmi*], since the verb is in the subjunctive.

<sup>838</sup> Presumably also because *ana libbi* as compound preposition is not used for "towards"; *ālum*, if certain, could also refer to Hahhum.

<sup>839</sup> Cf. the use in B I:27f. and III:16 of *ēlitum* and *wāritum* for caravans going to Anatolia and returning to Assur.

<sup>840</sup> In 7' " [x shekels silver as] (*nishatu-tax*)" is completely restored and the line does not seem to have enough space for this restoration, and of the verbal form only -e-li seems unambiguous. The end of line 9' may have contained the word *gulgullum*, used for cylindrical containers or bales with textiles carried by donkeys on the way to Anatolia, but not attested for the transport of silver to Assur.

<sup>841</sup> See AOAT 39f. Prag I 718:23 forbids to place packets of tin in the *g.*, presumably wrapped in a bolt of cloth. AKT 2, 35:6f. and 13f. speak of *huršiānu*-containers *ša gulgullē* entrusted for transport.

- h) No secrecy in the handling of conflicts between Hahhum and the inhabitants of the *kārum* and Assyrian traders passing with caravans (I [IV] 23'-32').<sup>842</sup> The cases/complaints must be presented<sup>?</sup> (*ka''ulum*) *publicly*, no<sup>843</sup> secret dealings<sup>844</sup> within the confines of the palace,<sup>845</sup> but a public announcement in the city and its territory.
- i) A fair administration of justice (III [II]:1-10). No administrative decisions (*nikišum*)<sup>846</sup> against Assyrians and the *kārum* due to the fact that the authorities of Hahhum intercede for/side with ([*a-b*]u-ti) PN *šabātum*?) of city's soldiers, slaves and citizens, but fair verdicts for Assyrians according to normal judicial practice in Hahhum (*kīma dīn Hahhim* .. *tadinnāni*) and not according to specific contractual stipulations(?).<sup>847</sup>
- j) No mean instructions to a ferryman<sup>848</sup> to let his boat sink and cause the loss (also by subsequent robbery?) of Assyrians goods (III [II]:11-18<sup>?</sup>). Compensation of anything whatsoever<sup>849</sup> should a boat sink<sup>850</sup> and losses occur "on the river, in the mountains and in your land".

This stipulation is understandable since Hahhum was a city at or near the crossing of the Euphrates, which is confirmed by kt 94/k 928, which lists expenses of a trip to Hahhum that comprise payment for lodging and one shekel of silver "crossing fee" (*nēbartum*), while line 14' lists a payment "[ ] of the river".

- k) Unclear (III [II]:18-28). Very damaged, mentions *contacts* with [*kārum*?] Kanesh and "any Assyrian" and *kārum* Hahhum, and may deal with *theft* of silver and gold by a man's personnel (*šuhār awilim*) and items belonging to "his boss".

*Lacuna of ca. 35 lines.*

- l) Confiscation and seizure (IV [I] until ca. 20/22'). After an isolated "you shall not administer an oath" (I. 5') and a clause which perhaps includes the word "border" (see IV. 2.6, the remarks on *pātum*), there follow stipulations that seems to forbid the seizure or perhaps confiscation (as penalty?) of items and of houses instead of [.....], which an

<sup>842</sup> I assume that the words of 23', "from this day onwards and as long as you live", introduce this stipulation, but they might also conclude the previous one, which is also of great importance.

<sup>843</sup> Line 30' should start with *lā*.

<sup>844</sup> Verb broken, perhaps *wašābum* Š-stem, used for convening a court.

<sup>845</sup> Lines 28'b-32', *ina puzrim* [*ina e*] *kallikunu ina parištim* [*lā tušešša*] *bāni nāgiram ina ālikunu Hahhim u mātikunu* [*lū tu*] *šassā[n]*.

<sup>846</sup> See for this below, note 857.

<sup>847</sup> II:5, *dīn ri-<ik>-sà-tim*, according to Günbatti's convincing emendation, which probably means verdicts based on (imposed?) contractual

<sup>848</sup> The reading *ša* [*ha-p*] *i-ri-im* is grammatically difficult and makes no sense, better *ša* \**[né-b]* *i-ri-im*, which fits clauses about sinking boats and a city on the river. The normal OA term *nēbartum* (VS 26, 150:22, kt 91/k 437:33) is used (in expense accounts) for "the costs of crossing", the crossing or ferry itself apparently is *nēberum*, which is used in OA as euphemism for somebody's death (CAD N/II, 146, 1,c; also kt 94/k 796:25 and 815:26), but is well known in OB and *ša nēbirim* occurs in OB Lú A 302f. as "ferryman".

<sup>849</sup> "Neither rope, nor peg nor stick, nor anything whatsoever"; see also note 799.

<sup>850</sup> Note the use of the precative (*liṭbima*) to describe a possibility, as it is in some paragraphs of the Laws of Eshnunna

inhabitant of the *kārum* brings (smuggles?) into the city.<sup>851</sup> Soldiers (*rādium*) of Hahhum shall not be instructed to [seize] any possessions (slaves, oxen, donkeys, goods) *belonging to kārum members* [because of .....].

m) Unclear (IV [I]:22'-30'), perhaps the continuation of l). Something should not happen "in your city Hahhum and in your land" with "any Assyrian", which seems to involve his house, and with Assyrians and inhabitants of the *kārum*.

*Remainder of the column, lower and left edges (in all ca. 35 lines) missing.*

### 3. Comparison and interpretation

When comparing the available data we should not forget our sources and damaged and incomplete. C might be the second page of the treaty text, parts of D are unreadable, and of E we have less than half of the text, including many broken passages. Moreover, A and C concern the period of level II, while B, D and E are from the level Ib, while B is special because of the location and commercial role of Apūm. As is clear from B and D, and may be assumed for E (beginning missing) the text of the treaty included the invocation of the gods by whom the oaths were sworn. C does not include it, unless kt m/k 794 was the second of a set of two tablets, and it is unique in describing in its last part how it was sworn, what was said by the Anatolian partners and which symbolic actions were performed.

#### 3.1. Status and judiciary treatment of the Assyrian traders

If we start from A, we note that the basic conditions of residence rights for the Assyrian traders (Ad) and the possibility to be commercially active in the city and its territory are nowhere explicitly stated. This may be understandable in C, which seems to concern a town passed by Assyrian caravans, without Assyrian settlement, but is remarkable for D and E. I assume that these were basic and accepted rights or facilities, implied by the existence of a *kārum*, which were taken for granted. The absence of relevant stipulations means that we do not know the statute of foreigners living in a *kārum* (called *wāšib kārim* in ht 92/k 203:32) nor whether they needed permission of the local authorities to settle down there and buy houses. It is clear that inhabitants of a *kārum* were not considered local citizens, and Df distinguishes them also from *hapirū*, people who had found refuge in a city (see note 818). Bc and f mention the *kārum* (of Apūm), which is different from the town as such and also not identical to the Assyrians (traders) who visit the city when traveling with their caravans up or down (I:27f., III:16). This suggests that the *kārum* was an institutionally separate city quarter in which Assyrian and presumably also other traders had settled and whose members could do business in the city and its countryside (they may have belonged to the *ālik eqlim* mentioned in II:3' and IV:11). The same distinctions apply in E. Alongside the citizens proper of Hahhum (DUMU *Hahhim*, III [II]:4) there are DUMU *kārim Hahhim*, "inhabitants/members of *kārum* Hahhum" (III [II]:9, IV [I]:8f. and 29; in II [IV]:25', III [II]:2 and 21 abbreviated to "*kārum* Hahhum"), and DUMU *Aššur*, "Assyrians/citizens of Assur" (II [IV]:25', III [II]:1, 8, 20; IV [I]:25, 28). The latter appear together as the ones to enjoy the protection of the treaty, clearly in II [IV]:24ff., where the repeated *bariti*, "between", distinguished the two groups which have a conflict (*awatum*): on the one hand "you" (plur., the magnates of Hahhum), and on the other *kārum* Hahhum and "any citizen of Assur" (*šumšu*). The addition of "any, whosoever" (*šumšu*) emphasizes that all kind of Assyrian traders were included, notably

<sup>851</sup> "To bring into the city" can be neutral, but is also used in letters dealing with smuggling (BIN 4, 48:20, 24, 26, 37; CCT 6, 22c:7, 10).



also those (belonging to a caravan) "going up (to) or coming down (from Anatolia)" (II [IV]:26', *ēlitum u[wāritum]*). This added *šumšu* is also used in B III:10 ("any Assyrian and the *kārum*"), also in order to distinguish between all kind of Assyrian traders visiting Apum as members of a caravan and the Assyrian traders more permanently settled in its *kārum*. It is interesting to note that this distinction between Assyrians settled in *kāruns* and those traveling with caravans is used in the treaties with Apum and Hahhum. We can explain it from the fact that both towns were important road-stations on the way to Anatolia proper, where a distinction between visiting traders and caravans and traders settled in their *kāruns* was sensible, since the treaties (ultimately) concluded by and with the city of Assur wished to protect both categories. Due to the different role and location of Kanesh such a distinction there must have been less obvious.

The statute of people living in and belonging to a *kārum* is important for understanding Dj, where the ruler of Kanesh is forbidden to conscript Assyrians for service duties (*unuššum*), otherwise only attested as incumbent on native Anatolians.<sup>852</sup> In Mari the "people of the *kārum*" (DUMU.MEŠ KAR.TA or DUMU *kārim*) were distinguished from the common citizens and from the specialized craftsmen.<sup>853</sup> This was also the case in ARM 23, 430:4, when an army of 1600 people was recruited to depart for Babylon, but it did include a few hundred "people of the *kārum*", whether this was an emergency measure or a normal procedure. ARM 14, 60:6'ff. shows that Iddiyyatum, Mari's "overseer of the traders", had been charged by the king to register "people of the *kārum*" and they must have been foreigners, who had somehow settled down there for various reasons. I doubt whether foreign traders (*tamkārum*), settled in the *kārum*, could be conscripted as soldiers, unless in case of extreme danger. If so, Dj would be in line with the situation at Mari. We may compare the fact that in Babylonia the owner of a "residence" (*bēt napīārim*) in a foreign city, possibly a trader, is indignant over the fact that his "house" has been dunned for service duties.<sup>854</sup>

Extraterritorial rights (Ae), though not explicitly stated, seem to be a fact, to judge from the abundant evidence for the administrative and judicial roles of *kāruns* and *wabartums* in all kind of cases which concern only Assyrians (fixing the interest, regulations for the trade, specific decisions, lawsuits and verdicts, etc.). It is confirmed by the role of attorneys (*rābišum*) acquired in Assur, by the decisions of the City of Assur transmitted to the *kārum*, and by the institution of the "Envoys of the City". A different issue are cases where interests of Assyrians and Anatolians clashed and in particular where the Assyrians had to confront the local rulers and palaces. Most of the stipulations on the administration of justice found in the treaties B and D-E apparently deal with such issues. The damaged Be probably concerns conflicts between citizens of Apūm and Assyrian traders which end up before the ruler, who has to promise a fair (*ina kinātim*) handling of the affair, without bullying (?; *šagāšum*)<sup>855</sup> the Assyrian party. These last words can be understood as

<sup>852</sup> See now Dercksen 2004b, 140f.

<sup>853</sup> ARM 6, 43:19, as read in MARI 5 (1987) 664. They occasionally appear as a separate group in texts that register people who join "the king's table", see B. Lafont, in: *Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (1985), 161ff. nos. 12:2 and 19:5. Note also J.-M. Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 79, note 202 line 10, on people of the *kārum* who bought wine.

<sup>854</sup> See Veenhof 1991, 295. He speaks of "being confronted with a summons" (*šisam kullumum*) by the recruiting officer.

<sup>855</sup> In OA it can also mean "to ruin somebody", see CAD Š/I, 68f.; we can read *tašaggīššu*, with pronominal object suffix. The verb is also used in the Apum Treaty (B), IV:9, where Eidem translates "you must not pressure(?) ...".

"treat them just like you would your own subjects", or "do not treat them the way you can treat your own subjects". The second interpretation, which seems grammatically more likely and supplements the positive injunction of line Ó, means that the ruler has to treat the traders differently, with more consideration and perhaps without physical force. In Dd too a verdict *ina kinātim* is required<sup>856</sup> and something similar is meant in Ei, where twice a procedure and verdict *ina kinātim*, in accordance with the judicial practice of Hahhum is demanded. This is not in order to bring Assyrians under local law, but to prevent in conflicts between Assyrians and locals, which must have been tried by the local ruler, arbitrary measures, designated as "taking an (ad hoc) administrative decision" (*nikišum*),<sup>857</sup> and passing a "contractual verdict" (*din riksātim*), which probably means a deviation from common law, which could be dangerous. The magnates of Hahhum are explicitly forbidden to take sides and favour (*abbūtam šabātum*) their own people in lawsuits. A more general stipulation in this spirit is Eh, which in a conflict "between you and *kārum* Hahhum and/or the Assyrian citizens", demands openness and publicity (including a public announcement of the trial), to prevent secret judicial dealings inside the walls of the palace. A different situation is envisaged in Em, where the ruler is forbidden to administer an oath, which perhaps means that he should not use this heavy instrument without prior careful investigation by a court.

Other stipulations fit this pattern and many concern the protection of Assyrians against Anatolians, both the local authorities and their Anatolian clients, who could be their creditors. Such rules are understandable in view of the rights which common ancient Near Eastern law grants to creditors and their possibility to resort to one-sided actions such as seizure of pledges and distress, which may have been particularly feared by people living in a foreign country with only legal means and an appeal to fairness to prevent worse. Their mention in D and E can be explained from what Dercksen 2001a, 66, concluded on the basis of an analysis of the level Ib texts, where he observed "a general impoverishment ..., expressing itself ... also in the number of cases where Assyrians have been detained by a native creditor for insolvency". Seizure of (loaded) caravan donkeys by the ruler's subjects, which should be [*repaired*?] according to Be,<sup>858</sup> is an example. In cases of defaulting and perhaps bankrupt or dead debtors, according to Dd, Anatolian debtors should not be favored and the main creditor, irrespective of whether he is Anatolian or Assyrian, is indemnified first.<sup>859</sup> A fugitive

<sup>856</sup> The following "[.....] to a citizen of yours", could be positive ("equaling him to ...") or negative ("not delivering him to...").

<sup>857</sup> See for this term Veenhof 1995c, 330f. An additional occurrence in kt 91/k 100, a severely damaged letter of the ruler (*waklum*) of Assur, addressed to the Envoys of the City and *kārum* Kanesh, dealing with smuggling: rev. 4' "From this da[y onwards] <sup>5</sup> *ni-ki-iš-tām* [ x x x ] <sup>6</sup> DUMU A-šū[r x x x (x)] <sup>7</sup> *a-šar* : BA-[ x x x x x ] (perhaps *pa[zzurim]*?). See for a decision that is considered detrimental to the Assyrians, kt 87/k 387:33f. (courtesy Hecker), "If there is a *nikišum* concerning *kutānu*-textiles, appeal to the *kārum*, saying: He must go to the *rabi sikkitim* (of Wahšušana) ... for his affair, that they may release to you <sup>5</sup> *kutānu*-textiles". It is not clear whether this was an Assyrian decision (e.g. to boycott the Anatolian official, because he did not pay his debts, or by the Anatolian palace, for whatever reason).

<sup>858</sup> Line IV:19 could deal with compensation of expenses (*gamrum*) incurred by the seizure.

<sup>859</sup> This interpretation is required because in both cases, after the one who "takes first", there is somebody else who takes after him. This implies debtors with both Anatolian and Assyrian creditors.

Assyrian debtor, according to Di, can be seized and forced to pay, but if he cannot be traced the creditor cannot seize a fellow Assyrian instead.

Some stipulations want to protect the Assyrians and their households against illegal, high-handed actions aiming at members of their household or their possessions. The difficult paragraph Df must envisage private actions by local inhabitants (citizens of Kanesh and persons who had found refuge and settled down there (see note 818). It demands from the ruler of Kanesh not to allow such actions and the explicit mention of (Assyrian) widows as potential victims shows the concern for protecting those who are most vulnerable. The damaged and unclear paragraph Em also mentions what could happen to the house(hold) of an Assyrian and might have had a similar purpose. Dg reminds the ruler himself of the fact that he shall not covet and seize possessions of the Assyrians (houses, slaves, fields, and gardens), presumably not as an act of simple greediness, but rather as a way of obtaining what he likes by punishing them or demanding compensation if they misbehave or default. These paragraphs show clearly how important the houses in the *kārum*, where they lived, kept their merchandise and archives, and felt safe, were for the Assyrians.

Something different may be at stake in Ei, where a likely reference to illegal import ("to bring into the city") may indicate that the seizure was a highhanded response (carried out by soldiers of Hahhum, acting on instructions of the ruler). This stipulation, by mentioning the seizure of property and houses "instead of [.....]", suggests that such seizures could be rather brutal, onesided solutions to problems, which bypassed careful judicial procedures. The Assyrians knew that their misbehaviour, especially infringement on what had been agreed by treaty, could be punished by the rulers by putting the culprits in jail, as happened to Pūšu-kēn, when he accepted smuggled merchandise (ATHE 62:30ff.). When Bb mentions that an Assyrian trader, who had been apprehended, could become free when a ransom was paid, and it is indeed the local ruler who gets this money, he must have had him arrested for an illegal action, such as smuggling. Ransom occurred often, but in the conflict reported in kt n/k 504 (see next paragraph), in a case of espionage, the ruler asks the almost impossible sum of one pound of iron or ten pounds of gold for the release of the suspect.

Consideration with the Assyrians is also clear when Di stipulates that an Assyrian (accused or called upon as witness?) will only swear by the symbols of his own god. Since religious sensitivities are hardly to be involved, this rule must have offered the reassuring advantage of being able to swear in the cella in his own *kārum*, with an oath by his own god, administered by his own people. He did not have to go to the river ordeal, where Anatolians were sent to discover the truth, probably a rather daunting experience that was better avoided.<sup>860</sup> Whether something similar may be at stake in the beginning of Ei, when the oath is mentioned, is not clear.

### 3.2. FREE TRADE AND THE PROTECTION OF CARAVANS.

Assyrians feared interruptions of the trade and lack of safety for their caravans. The writer of KTS 2, 40:27ff. is happy to report that "there is peace (*šulmum*) in Burušaddum, Ulama has just accepted the oath (peace treaty) from Burušaddum" and asks to send donkeys for the transport of copper. The one of VS 26, 83:39ff. promises: "When peace has been established and my goods have come down from the palace in

<sup>860</sup> Reported in kt n/k 504, see Günbattı 2001, 152:21f. *kima mer'a ālika ana i-id lillik*. In this extremely serious case (an Assyrian accused of treason and liable to be killed) the Assyrian authorities make the exceptional offer of letting him be tested "in the Anatolian way".

Kanesh, take action concerning my tin and textiles, so that you yourself and my merchandise are safe and convert them into silver".<sup>861</sup> Interruptions meant that traders were "held up" (*kalā'um*) and they or their wares were "tied down" (*kaššudum* Dt). At times the behavior of the Assyrians themselves may have been responsible for such delays, in particular when smugglers were caught. This must have been the situation in which the ruler of Assur (*waklum*) wrote the letter kt 91/k 100 to the Envoys of the City and *kārum* Kanesh, about a caravan which had been stuck in Zalpa for no less than eight months.<sup>862</sup> Most of the letter is broken, but the mention, on the left edge, of the "sukinnu-route", suggests that it had to do with smuggling. In VS 26, 29:15ff. a trader complains that "one has delayed him for eight months in Šaladuwar, so that merchandise for a value of 20 minas of silver got stuck together with me", but the reason for this incident is unknown.

A vital issue was what would happen in times of war or hostilities, which apparently were not too rare. A first concern of the Assyrians, devoid of any military power, must have been not to get involved and stay as neutral as possible. The case of the Assyrian trader arrested and accused of treason, because he would have rendered services to the local ruler's enemy (kt n/k 504, see above II.2.6) must have been a warning example. Living in a town's *kārum* the Assyrians at times may have felt the pressure to take sides, which was perhaps the case in the incident reported in KTP 10 (see note 746), a letter of the *wabartum* of Šala<du>war to *kārum* Wahšušana. It reports that somebody, presumably the ruler of a neighbouring town (Burušhaddum?), had said in a letter (rev., lines 9-13): "Invade<sup>2</sup> (plur.) the country of Wahšušana, if not, I am your enemy!". The second concern, once hostilities (*nukurātum*) or a revolt (*sihitum*)<sup>863</sup> had erupted, apparently was to be able to decide for themselves, using information received from elsewhere and calculating the risks, whether it was possible to travel or not or whether another destination should be chosen. When in kt 91/k 416:16f. a trader writes that his tin "should not be shipped on beyond (*ebar*) Šalahšuwa, but beyond Timilkia to Durhumit, so that it stays safe",<sup>864</sup> the last words could refer to such dangers. At times commercial traffic was impossible due to a *sukurtum*, "blockade",<sup>865</sup> probably when the local authorities, who were responsible for the roads and the safety of those who traveled in their territory (as mentioned in Af), refused "to let the caravan leave" (*ellatam waššurum*) or "to give the road free" (*harrānam waššurum*).<sup>866</sup> CCT 5,

<sup>861</sup> [ištu š]ulmum iššiknunima [un]ūtī ina Kaneš ina [eka]lim urdanni lū annikī lū šubātē ali šalāmika [u ša]ām luqūtia ēpušma [anniki] u šubātia ana kaspim [ta]’er.

<sup>862</sup> illat Puzur-Aššur iš[ū] ITU 8 KAM ina Zalpa kal’at; see for this text also note 857.

<sup>863</sup> Kt 94/ k 1323:9ff., "There is a revolt in Burušhaddum, it is impossible to enter by road either Ulama, Šaladuwar, or Šabā"; a revolt in this city is also reported in kt m/k 13:24f. (courtesy Hecker), which means that "no individual (*wedum*) can enter (the city)." Note also Prag I 764:3f., "the country is in revolt and the road is closed" (*harrānum pahi<at>*).

<sup>864</sup> kima šalām annikī.

<sup>865</sup> It could cause serious problems, as is shown by kt m/k 69:68ff. (courtesy Hecker), where a man writes that he took out a loan of 1 1/2 mina of silver with an Anatolian "to keep my people alive during the blockade".

<sup>866</sup> The same expression also in Babylonian, in the letter IM 49307:10ff. (W.F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, 1960, 106f.), where the *kārum* of Sippar writes that the king

15b:3-10 (CMK 89) reports: "The ruler of Washania has arrived here and has prevented me (*ka/ā'um*) from going to Buruṣhaddum or Hattum. I have now waited fifty days and if he does not give the road to Hattum free ... I will leave for Kanesh".<sup>867</sup> A prohibition to travel could also have other causes, due to legal problems, as seems to have been the case in TC 3, 75 (CMK 96), where Dadāya writes: "As long as I am stuck here I am staying in Naduhtum. No less than ten times we went up to the ruler and the second-in-command, and I said: "Allow me to travel!" (*harrānam dinam*), but they refused to grant his request, since he had to stay as a guarantor, until an instruction from (*kārum*?) Kanesh would arrive. In many cases, however, the reasons were of a political nature, including danger on the roads. By means of a stipulation like Dk the Assyrians wanted to make sure that they could travel, even in times of hostilities, and this is also the purpose of Ed, in case Hahhum would be at war with one of its neighbors, Timilkia or Batna. Both were towns with an Assyrian settlement and on the caravan road from Assur to Kanesh and their mention shows that caravans traveling both ways were meant. The possibility of traveling under certain conditions during periods of hostilities or war is mentioned in a text from Mari, whose writer compares Bedouins, who penetrate everywhere, with "a trader who travels between (regions at) war and (regions at) peace",<sup>868</sup> and the Assyrian traders certainly were of that kind. The background of the stipulations in Dk and Ed seems to be that the local authorities by their oaths had guaranteed the safety of the Assyrians and their caravans inside their land/territory and promised compensation for losses not recovered and blood money for people killed, without limitations or exceptions. In periods of war and unsafety they rulers quite naturally must have been tempted to stop commercial traffic coming to or leaving their cities, in order to prevent such risks. But the Assyrians wished decide for themselves what to do, stay inside the walls or travel with their caravans, perhaps trusting their immunity or profiting from information on the safety of certain roads, as is shown by kt 91/k 416 (quoted above) and the important letter TC 1, 18:32ff. (Larsen 2002 no. 18). In the latter fear of entering Hahhum suggested using another crossing of the Euphrates, by traveling by way of Uršu to Mamma. The letter then mentions an instruction (*te'ertum*) of the City Assembly in Assur (which shows how in such situations information was communicated between Anatolia and Assur) to divide a caravan into three parts and to let the second part leave Uršu only after it has become clear that the first part, starting out from Mamma (where there are also problems), has safely reached "the land of Kanesh".

Donkey caravans loaded with valuable merchandise implied risks and this could lead to losses, both commercial ones, due to delays, bad prices etc. (*ibissā'ū*), and the loss of donkeys and their loads (*huluqqā'ū*). Some were due to accidents in bad weather, in the mountains and even in Assur,<sup>869</sup> and several caravan reports mention expenses caused by the death of donkeys.<sup>870</sup> Other losses could be the consequence of "smuggling", as was the case in Sadberk 12:5ff., where of a load of 4 1/3 talents of tin and 140

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said: "Until we have captured the cities K. and H. we will not give the road free".

<sup>867</sup> Kt 92/k 326:3-15 (courtesy Albayrak) reports: "Previously I wrote to you: The palace tries to cheat (*sa/ā'um*) the *kārum* and the caravan must fend for itself (? *qāssa išabbaḥ*), but us, they do not let us go (*waššurum*). Speak to the *kārum* that they should not bring the caravan in as long as they do not let us go!"

<sup>868</sup> A 350+: 5ff, see Charpin-Durand 1997, 378, with note 81, *kima tamkārim ša birit nukurtim u salimim illaku*.

<sup>869</sup> Kt 94/k 963 mentions lapis lazuli that got lost in the City".

<sup>870</sup> See AOAT 251, 5.

*kutānu*-textiles no less than 1 talent of tin and 12(!) textiles were lost during smuggling (*ippazzurtim haḷqū*). Such losses had to be accepted, but certain risks could be reduced by spreading them over the members of a caravan (*ellutum*) according to a rule laid down by a decision of the City of Assur:

"As for the losses of PN<sub>1</sub>-5, the caravan of K. shall compensate their losses to them in accordance with [the words] of the stele, (whether they) be tin, silver or textiles".<sup>871</sup>

Losses due to theft or high-handed actions of Anatolians were a different matter. I assume that theft from houses in a *kārum*, *wabartum* or a lodging (*bēt ubrim*), used en route, which could have been prevented by guarding one's premises and belongings, were the owner's risk.<sup>872</sup> Larsen under Ad added to residence rights "presumably some kind of protection", but this may have concerned a *kārum* or *wabartum* as a whole, hardly that of individual houses against thieves and burglars, although the Assyrians in such cases probably could ask the local "police" to find and punish the culprits. Ek may have dealt with theft, but is too damaged to be sure. Dramatic cases of theft are reported in SUP 7, which relates how thieves stole valuable items from the shrine of Aššur in Uršu (see Larsen 1976, 261f.), and in kt k/k 108.<sup>873</sup> According to this letter thieves entered the house of the writer's father in Burushaddum, cut the throats of three men and disappeared with silver and much copper, tin, and textiles, which the writer had been searching in vain. The text does not mention an appeal to the local ruler to find the criminals and compensate the losses, but we cannot be sure that this had not happened, because the purpose of the text is different. It is a deposition made before *wabartum* Zimišhuna, which states that the victim accused his partner, whose goods were in the same house but, miraculously, had suffered no losses, but was unwilling take part of the losses for his account.<sup>874</sup> The background of losses due to "seizure" (*šabātum*) of merchandise usually is not clear. CCT 4, 19c:15ff. reports about the seizure of 25 *kutānu*-textiles in Luhusaddia, where the queen told the owners: "The one who seized the textiles *and* <sup>2</sup> the tin will come. If the *kutānu*-textiles are available, take them, and if they are damaged take silver (as compensation)". The queen's promise, "he will come", could be taken to mean that she was sure to find the thief, but may also imply that she knew more about the action of one of her subjects, perhaps an official who had overstepped his competence, in which case "seizure" could mean "confiscation".<sup>875</sup> This case may be compared with those where textiles "got lost" in the

<sup>871</sup> Kt n/k 1570, see Veenhof 1995a, 1730, and now also Dercksen 2004a, 172. Compensation (*mallu'um*) of such losses is also mentioned in CCT 2, 11:15ff. (loss of textiles in the mountains of Mamma) and kt 91/k 451:1-5, "For the 17 *kutānu*-textiles which got lost in Batna the caravan has paid us a compensation of 1 1/3 mina of tin apiece". CCT 3, 33a:3ff. may deal with a similar case, because the *kārum* decides to detain the caravan for five days. In BIN 6, 180:4f, the writers gave "1 *kutānu*-textile for the losses in Zalpa", which must be their share in the losses incurred by a caravan, and such losses belonged to the expenses of a trip which had to be balanced (BIN 6, 212:18ff.).

<sup>872</sup> Note kt 88/k 507b:60f. (courtesy Albayrak), where a trader's tablets were stolen (*šarqū*), and the famous letter CMK 51, which reports on the theft of sacred objects from the temple of Aššur in Uršu.

<sup>873</sup> Hecker 1996a, text no. 4.

<sup>874</sup> His opponent states that thanks to the aid of the gods he escaped unharmed, with his merchandise, but the victim is suspicious because his opponent, when listing his merchandise (tin, textiles and copper) "concealed a lot of merchandise" (*luqūtam mattam taktum*, line 19f.).

<sup>875</sup> The meaning of Larsen who edited the letter as Larsen 2002, 89.

palace and where we do not know whether this was theft, illegal confiscation or something else. In kt 94/k 848 textiles were brought into the palace, a few were taken as *nishatu*-tax and bought, but also "three textiles went lost in the palace". And when kt 88/k 963 asks a trader to overcome his fears and bring merchandise to Kanesh for clearance in the palace, the addressee is reassured by the words "The palace will take the *nishatu*-tax and absolutely no losses will occur in the palace".<sup>876</sup> This last remarks suggests that certain losses were due to the fact that the palace officials tried to take more textiles than they were entitled to. This is indeed considered in treaties Cd (line 24, "you shall not take anything extra") Da (line 17 mentions "to take away by force", *ina emūqē eṭārum*) and Eb ("beyond the(se) textiles"), and the implies it by fixing the number of textiles which can be bought at favourable prices.

Loss of donkeys and merchandise traveling on the roads in Anatolia due to raids and robbery were a serious matter. The fact that the local rulers were held responsible for repairing such losses implies that traders could count on protection by the local palaces, which could guard the roads and make armed escorts (*rādium*) available. Such losses were not accepted and all treaties stipulate that the palaces had to look for and return<sup>877</sup> the lost goods or pay the owner a compensation (*mallu'um*), as we read in Bd,<sup>878</sup> Ca, Dc and e, and Eg and j. Compensation will have been based on the value or price of the goods lost, and De adds that the size of the loss will be established on the basis of an oath by the owner. Assyrian complaints and demands for compensation are mentioned in several letters, some of which report *verbatim* the conversation with the ruler. In the letter kt b/k 471, which reports on the loss of twenty-five textiles, we read in lines 8ff., "We went up to the palace and they gave us back twenty textiles. .. The palace gave us the thieves to kill them and the palace said: " Kill the [culprits?] and then your textiles will not get lost".<sup>879</sup> Here the palace seems to acknowledge that killing the thieves will work as a deterrent to prevent future losses. In AAA I, no. 6 (CMK 36) the ruler of Kapitra is reminded of what his "fathers" (*kārum* Kanesh and the Envoys of the City, to whom this letter is addressed) have written him: "Return the goods lost, then we will pray for you before Aššur!", and he now promises to do so in the near future. In TC 3, 85,<sup>880</sup> the ruler of Zalpa, after receiving a present of gold to solve the problem of lost goods, says: "Let the owner of the lost goods come here and I will pay to him personally my compensation".<sup>881</sup> But this does not satisfy the Assyrians and when he is told that the silver lost is property of a god (*ikribū ša ilim*), he finally promises: "I myself will return to you the lost goods".

Stipulation Ej is an interesting specification of possible losses, in my reading caused by the ferryman (or perhaps the man who instructs the caravans how to cross the local ford), who acts on instructions from above. It indicates that the Assyrians, who may have learned from experience, did not exclude tricks played by the local palaces and several letters indeed reveal what the rulers and their dignitaries could do, using their

<sup>876</sup> *mimma ina ekallim huluqqā'ū lā ibāšši*, see Albayrak 2003:12f.

<sup>877</sup> *še'ā'um u ta'urum*, C:6-7, D:59; E I [IV]:22.

<sup>878</sup> Read in III:3'f. perhaps "If you have not produced the lost goods.." (*šumma huluqqā' ē....*) [*lā t]uštēli ...*].

<sup>879</sup> Balkan 1974, 31 note 16 (*šāriqē ana duākim ekallum iddinniāti*).

<sup>880</sup> See already Garelli 1963, 344f, and see now CMK 90.

<sup>881</sup> The word translated "compensation" is *arnum*, "fine", apparently a financial indemnification, which, as the continuation shows, is different from a return of the lost goods. As Garelli's analysis shows, this was a complicated case, in which the Assyrian victims presumably had seized a slave of the ruler to put pressure on him.

power.<sup>882</sup> The stipulation fits the city of Hahhum, where the Euphrates had to be crossed, but there were several other towns on rivers and near crossings – Durhumit, Habnuk, Nenaššā, Wahšušana, Zalpa - where such things might happen. The related texts kt t/k 1 and 25 (Sever 1996) mention expenses paid in Wahšušana, after leaving Šaladiwar, because of the transport of a mule, "on the bank of the river" and to the boatman (*malahum* (kt t/k 1:16f., 29-35), or "at the bridge in Šaladiwar (kt t/k 25:10f.)).

### 3.3. *HOMICIDE, BLOODMONEY AND COMPETITION*

The stipulations in the treaties indicate that such losses due to attacks and robbery could cost human lives and they therefore mention "losses" and "bloodshed" together, a realistic combination as shown by various letters. Kt 87/k 145 reports that "one killed a young man in Ulama and my silver and your textiles are lost".<sup>883</sup> When Assyrians were killed one demanded the payment of "blood money" (*damū*) and the attempts to obtain it and ensuing complications are the subject of several letters. Collection of the money could entail expenses, which somehow had to be paid for,<sup>884</sup> and some records show that its collection (and division?) were the subject of judicial decisions. Kt b/k 162 and 180<sup>885</sup> deal with the bloodmoney for a certain Ennamāya. In the first the City allows his father to send an attorney to Kanesh in connection with this money and the second states that a certain S. has now collected the money in the name of the father. According to Kayseri 1830 (CMK 59) representatives of the *wabartum* of Kuššara tell the palace in Luhusaddia: "Two Assyrians have been killed in your country" and demand satisfaction, but the ruler proved unable to identify and catch the offenders. Kt 94/k 937 (courtesy Larsen) is a report of a man who "accompanied your (the *kārum*'s?) messengers in order to search for the blood-money of my brother", which results in an (unsatisfactory?) meeting with the ruler of Tawinia, who was told to get the money.<sup>886</sup> The decision of the *kārum*, kt 94/k 1454, that nobody shall set a foot "beyond Tawinia" until the blood money for the man had been obtained, must deal with the same affair. The treaty stipulations Cb, Dc and El demand extradition of the murderers (plural in C:9 and E IV:19', singular in D:44,) and the right of the Assyrians to kill them, but only D and E mention financial compensation. E ii [IV]:18' uses the terminology attested in letters (*damē kašādum*), but D:43 speaks of "giving us *šimtum* for the bloodshed". *Šimtum* means "fixed amount", especially the capital (borrowed) as distinguished from the interest

<sup>882</sup> See for an example Hecker 1996a, text 4 = CMK 94.

<sup>883</sup> Hecker 1996a, 143, note 13. See also CMK 37:26ff.

<sup>884</sup> According to KTH 16 the *wabartum* of Šaladuwar seized some textiles and tin of a trader, apparently as compensation for its efforts to obtain the blood money (*damē kašādum*) paid for the writer's brother, but he contests it and wants to appeal to the *kārum* to get his merchandise back. Kt b/k 258 is a debt-note for an amount of 1 1/3 mina of silver owed to a *kārum*, described as "expenses for (collecting) the blood money which Z. (Anatolian name) paid for Ennum-Aššur".

<sup>885</sup> Çeçen 1998. The end of kt b/k 180 is difficult, because *da-me ša PN i-ši-qī-il<sub>5</sub>* does not make sense.

<sup>886</sup> Line 8, [*dam*]ē<sup>2</sup> *ša awilim še-e* (*še<sup>2</sup>ā<sup>3</sup>um* has the double meaning of "to search" and "to sue for". There were complications, because the man was killed for the silver earned by trading iron that belonged to another trader, and the *kārum* told the latter to search for the money "since a man has been killed because of your iron".



on it (see also D:71), and this suggests that there may have been a fixed financial compensation when a man was killed, but we do not know how much it was. Comparison<sup>887</sup> is difficult, because the money paid in D and E is not a substitution for life, a ransom, but a fine in addition to the death sentence. Since these cases play in Anatolia, one might look at Anatolian legal custom, the penalties for breach of contract stipulated in Anatolian records, especially those notarized by the rulers. Those compared in Balkan 1955, 45f., all three stipulate a fine of five minas of silver and/or (*u*) capital punishment. If these penalties are not meant as deterrents and if the copula *u* is taken as "or", we may see them as alternatives, which would imply that the price paid for one's life was five pounds of silver. Compare also ARM 8, 1, where the penalty for who contests a hereditary adoption is 3 1/3 pounds of silver, called "silver of a case involving life/a capital crime" (*kasap dīn napištim*).

Killing the murderers, irrespective of the financial compensation obtained, was an act of blood-revenge, in the texts of the treaties with a plural subject, "we". This fits the style of the treaties - "we" versus "you" - and does not exclude that the culprits were executed by the victim's nearest kin, but we have not textual evidence to prove it and we cannot even exclude that the loss of life could be compensated by paying a sum of silver.

A surprising stipulation is Cc, which forbids the unknown ruler to attract Akkadian traders, rivals of the Assyrians, and makes him promise to extradite them, so that the Assyrians can kill them. This is a ruthless way to exercise a monopoly, enforced with the help of "clients", which we had not expected from the commercially minded Assyrians. One wonders which "Akkadians" the text had in mind during the level II period, traders from Eshnunna or perhaps Babylonian ones, who tried to penetrate into Anatolia along the Euphrates, by way of Karkemish? Perhaps this stipulation was conditioned by the location of the town, in the border area<sup>888</sup> where one entered Anatolia, because the treaty as such is focused on the transit of caravans. From level II texts we know nothing about such measures and nothing similar seems to be stipulated in the later treaties, when the influence of Assur was anyhow smaller.

### 3.4. TAXATION AND PURCHASE BY THE ANATOLIAN AUTHORITIES.

#### 3.4.1. TEXTILES

The basic rules formulated under Aa-b, which took care of the interests of the local rulers and rewarded them for what they granted under Ad-f, in general seem to have worked well, although the palace did not always buy the ten percent to which it was entitled and occasionally "seized" additional textiles<sup>889</sup> or tried to gain other advantages.<sup>890</sup>

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<sup>887</sup> Compare the stipulation in § 48 of the Laws of Eshnunna, that cases involving a fine ranging between 20 and 60 of silver will be dealt with by the judges, but that "capital cases are for the king", which suggests that the fine for killing somebody - if silver could substitute for life - was more than one mina of silver.

<sup>888</sup> See above, IV.6 on Talhat and the Euphrates as a border.

<sup>889</sup> Note kt g/k 190:13f., "20 textiles have been seized in the palace".

<sup>890</sup> There is an interesting, damaged account of an attempt by the king of Hurama to extend his prerogatives, in kt m/k 134 (courtesy Hecker), a letter of *kārum* Hurama to *kārum* Kanesh. The king is said to have "given" an oath, perhaps a proposal for a treaty offered to the local *kārum* and *kārum* Hurama explains that "the king will take 10 textiles from your

The rules fixed in Ce-f are of a different nature in stipulate a modest transit fee and not the substantial taxes levied for clearance in the city-state where the goods would be sold. The question to what extent these rules were still in force during level Ib is difficult to answer, because the texts are damaged and we lack from this period the typical "caravan records" which describe how merchandise entered the palace and it took what it was entitled to. It is important to note that *laqā'um*, "to take, collect", is used for what the ruler is entitled too by agreement (see E I [III]:9ff.), while *šabātum*, "to seize", means a one-sided action, which may amount to confiscation.<sup>891</sup> The contents of Bb are too damaged to yield much,<sup>892</sup> but they show that the ruler of Apūm "receives" something (perhaps as a gift; *mahārum*). The next lines mention what he will take (*laqā'um* in line 6<sup>2</sup>) "per donkey [...]", but the mention of copper is unexpected. The *nishatum* (13) is levied from [merchandise?] in the *kārum*, perhaps [when it is sold] "in your city and in your land", and the next line may state that its rate was the same as that for his father, an interpretation in line with C:17.

The clearest statement is in Dh, where the ruler "takes" ten percent of the imported *parakannu*-textiles as *nishatu*-tax, while for additional textiles "seized" outside the palace, at the city gate,<sup>893</sup> the full price will be paid. Ten percent is more than the rate during level II (when the tax on textiles was five percent), but the ten percent ("tithe", *išrātum*) that the palace could buy during that period is not mentioned here, though lines 21f. speak of the few textiles which he can buy (21, *ana š[imim] laqā'um*<sup>2</sup>) for silver (price not preserved) "after you have taken the *nishatum* you are entitled to". What the ruler could take as *nishatum* must have been mentioned in the part ending with line 13, to which lines 14-18 add that specific textiles, which the ruler desires for his own wardrobe, have to be bought at the normal price.<sup>894</sup> Eb lists how many textiles (no specifications) the main dignitaries of Hahhum can "take" and at what price, and since the prices listed were lower than normal (with the greatest reduction for the "minister of export"), this must be a survival of the just mentioned "tithe" of level II. The damaged continuation of this passage (E I [III]:13ff.) seems to stipulate that additional textiles<sup>895</sup> can or cannot be taken as *nishatum* and the end states how many shekels of silver apiece the "minister of export" has to pay for them.

### 3.4.2. METALS AND LAPIS LAZULI

Db does not mention tin, unless it occurred in lines 9ff., together with the basic rules for the tax on textiles, which is unlikely, also for reasons of space. Tin occurs in Ef, which must deal with caravans traveling to Anatolia, but as mentioned above, the passage is

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textiles and one will search the bags (with textiles)", apparently in order to check the numbers or to select the best pieces. *Kārum* Hurama refuses to act accordingly and writes to *kārum* Kanesh, "you are our fathers and lords, it is up to you over there!".

<sup>891</sup> Even stronger is *ina emūqē eṭārum*, "to take away by force", in D:17, 67f., compare *ina emūqē šabātum* in D:85.

<sup>892</sup> Eidem's reading *lā [a-ša-q]ā-al* (II:9) is dubious (and GA uncertain), since one expects the opposite of line 4 (*tamahhar*), e.g. that the ruler of Apūm shall not take/get something (perhaps *tatabbat*?).

<sup>893</sup> The passive form, *iššabbat*, indicates that this was done by other people than the palace.

<sup>894</sup> And not *ana šimim batqim*.

<sup>895</sup> The beginning of 14' might have read [*ū e-TUG*] *abarneim*.

very damaged and it is not clear where the paragraph on tin begins and whether it had to be bought by the Anatolians or was an (obligatory) gift to them.

During level II there are no rules on how much tin a palace could buy and at what price, since the basic rule was that it would receive five percent of the loads as *nishatu*-tax. This makes it likely that line 21' still deals with textiles, in which case the tin of 22'ff. would be a gift. The disappearance during level Ib of a *nishatu*-tax on tin - it was still imported, but presumably in smaller quantities, see Dercksen 2001a, 65 - could have been compensated by a gift or transit-fee (as in C:18ff.), or by the right to purchase it at a favorable price, as was stipulated for textiles in Eb. The choice is difficult, but I prefer the idea of a gift, because in case of purchase the amount bought should have been a round figure and not "[x shekels and 1]5 grains of tin" (III:24'), while also the lack of a distributive TA excludes a price (in silver).

In a damaged paragraph Db mentions the trade in lapis lazuli and iron (*asium*, also called *amūtum*),<sup>896</sup> both of which were obtained in Assur from the City Hall, while Assyrian traders also managed to acquire and sell iron inside Anatolia, where this expensive metal was much in demand.<sup>897</sup> The stipulations on lapis lazuli (which may have been comparable to those on iron) have not been preserved, but for iron they are that when Assyrian traders offer it for sale, they only have to sell it if they consider the price offered satisfactory. If not, they should be free to take it elsewhere, without interference by the palace. The protection thus assured was not superfluous, since a variety of texts show how eager palaces and local dignitaries were to acquire it and how they could exert pressure to sell it. It could fetch a very high price, but with considerable variation due to the shape and especially the quality (purity) of this meteoric iron (see above II.2.3.4). Illustrative is BIN 4, 45:7ff., "Here the generals (*rabi sikkitim*) of Ušša and Hudurut keep pressuring me, saying: "Send us a message if there is somewhere iron available, so that I. and Š. can collect it....", but I have not given them my word for the iron. If you have in mind to send iron, the *kārum* here must not get knowledge of it!"<sup>898</sup> And in kt 94/k 1461:16ff. (courtesy Larsen) a trader writes that he is afraid to enter Burushaddum "because of the iron, which you promised to the "minister of export" (*mūšium*), but did not send, while you did nothing to appease him".<sup>899</sup> We may assume that the situation during the level Ib period was not essentially different, which made this stipulation necessary, and it may have been part of the treaty with Hahhum too.

Ej stipulates what the dignitaries of Hahhum may acquire from caravans on the way to Assur that carry silver and gold. Gold was valued everywhere, we meet it regularly as a gift to rulers and the dignitaries here are granted the right to buy it from the Assyrians

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<sup>896</sup> See for lapis lazuli, Michel 2001a, and for both Veenhof 2003d, 99f.; the trade in iron deserves a special investigation, which I hope to present in a forthcoming article

<sup>897</sup> Note the references in VI.1.2.3, under *rabi sikkitim*, several of which mention that he still had to pay for the iron he bought. Kt 89/k 231 (courtesy Kawasaki) reports that an amount of no less than 123 shekels of iron, belonging to a group of traders, was sold for silver.

<sup>898</sup> Apparently because the generals are ready to pay silver and gold, and perhaps also because the trade in iron was taxed by the Assyrian authorities. See Veenhof 2003d, 102.

<sup>899</sup> Fear is also expressed in ICK 1, 46:57f., "When you informed the palace about the iron, our father became afraid for himself", a letter which belongs to a small dossier on the fortunes of a partnership, with a capital of no less than twenty minas of silver, founded in order to acquire iron inside Anatolia. It was analyzed by Landsberger 1950, 331ff.

at favorable prices, below those current in Assur. The fact that gold could be bought was already a prerogative, since Assur was very concerned about acquiring and keeping it, presumably for commercial reasons. This is clear from a remarkable verdict of the City Assembly, which became a law and forbade Assyrian traders to sell it to Akkadians, Amorites and Subarians, on penalty of death.<sup>900</sup> We do not know whether this Assyrian policy continued during the level Ib period, but Hahhum, as a South-Anatolian city probably was not affected by this interdiction, which would have harmed commercial activity there.

### 3.5. THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ASSYRIANS

The redaction of the treaties is one-sided, spelling out only the obligations and rights of the Anatolian rulers, while what the Assyrians had to do is only implied. They had to bring the imported merchandise into the palaces for clearance, so that these latter could levy the tax and decide what they wanted to buy. Assyrian traders might try to dodge these obligations, perhaps by using special routes, the so-called "*sukinnu*-route", certainly by smuggling (*pazzurum*) their wares into the cities, a subject I treated long ago.<sup>901</sup>

It is doubtful whether "*sukinnu*-route" refers to a specific road, between two cities, identifiable on a map, but it seems clear that it refers to routes which evaded towns with their tolls (see BIN 4, 48:16ff. = CMK 176), but probably did not provide the protection to which caravans were entitled on the "official" roads. They were no "narrow tracks" suited only for individual merchants with a few donkeys, for two letters show that caravans of no less than thirty donkeys used them.<sup>902</sup> Their use was by no means rare and there are several cases where they were an alternative to "smuggling",<sup>903</sup> but they were not always considered "appropriate, feasible" (*naṭum*), which probably means they were at times forbidden or too risky. The attitude of the Assyrian authorities concerning the use of this route is not clear. A letter of *kārum* Wahšušana to *kārum* Kanesh<sup>904</sup> apparently takes its use for granted and only states that traders using it are thereby not exempt from paying the *šaddu'utu*-tax due to *kārum* Kanesh. But a letter of Assur's ruler, kt 91/k 100 (quoted in notes 857 and 862) and the letter Chantre 11<sup>905</sup> probably advised to be careful or to stop its use. The letter kt 94/k 786 states, in reaction to repeated requests to use this route, that the orders of the palace are strict (*awātum dannā*) and that "one has seized the son of A. on the *sukinnu*-route and that he is in detention until the very day". To this the related letter kt 94/k 1004:17ff. adds: "Over there the orders of the *kārum* and of the palace are strict, therefore we will not import the

<sup>900</sup> See Veenhof 1995a, 1733, and Dercksen 2004a, 81, on the importance of gold.

<sup>901</sup> AOAT 14 ch. XIV-XVI. Note also kt 94/k 503:14f., "Smuggle Akkadian textiles, if it is not feasible, let them enter the palace with the caravan".

<sup>902</sup> Kt 92/k 200:2ff. (CMK 22) and kt 94/k 705:30f.

<sup>903</sup> And note kt 94/k 1164:35ff., "Why is it that A. left my smuggled goods (*pazzurti*) behind in Hahhum? Let one bring my smuggled goods in via the *sukinnu*-route". Transporting merchandise in this way, according to kt 94/k 441, was an alternative "if you have not caught up with PN's caravan".

<sup>904</sup> Günbatti 1998 no. 3 = CMK 43, cf. CMK 22, which translates "le chemin détourné".

<sup>905</sup> See Larsen 1976, 248f., with note 3. *Kārum* Zalpa tells that it has received a letter from the City "that the *sukinnu*-route [.....], anybody [who .....]", which looks like an order not to use it.

merchandise there".<sup>906</sup> This shows that its use was checked and could be forbidden, and that in this particular case the local *kārum* and the palace were united in their efforts to prevent its use.

Smuggling and the use of the *sukinnu*-route were private actions, which entailed risks (offenders could end up in jail and have to be ransomed) and were not appreciated by the Assyrian authorities, since they infringed upon what had been promised. As far as I can see the Anatolian palaces did not blame the *kārum* organization as such for these actions and were content to punish the offenders. While the Assyrian authorities wished to prevent the use of the *sukinnu*-route in certain situations, the stance of the *kārum* Kanesh on smuggling is clear: "Nobody shall smuggle tin or textiles, the caravan which does smuggle, the order of the *kārum* will catch it!" (kt a/k 1055).<sup>907</sup> This was also known to the traders, as CTMMA 1, 72:28ff. states:

*"The ruling of the kārum is firm, your plan to smuggle, about which you wrote to us, is not feasible, so we will not write (advise) you about your smuggling. It is entirely up to you, do not go by your colleagues. Beware!"*

This appeal wished to prevent negative reactions of the local rulers, such as the sharpening of the controls (*maššārātum dannā*), described in the letter ATHE 62:28ff. (CMK 207), which must have made commercial traffic more difficult. How serious the rulers took such practices becomes clear from the letter kt 94/k 1692:4ff., which mentions an ukase of a king and queen about "the smuggle roads" (or: trips, *harrānātum ša pazzurtim*): "Seize those who carry textiles, copper and tin in the land .... and detain the tin and the textiles". They also wrote to/on "those involved with the *sukinnu*-route", which makes the writer of this letter ask "Please, do not smuggle tin and textiles and put nothing on the *sukinnu*-route. Please, the orders are strict!"

### 3.6. DEVELOPMENTS AND DIFFERENCES

In trying to understand the stipulations and their background I have consistently drawn on textual sources from level II, which in various cases provide good illustrations for what the new treaties state or imply. Nevertheless, there are differences between the periods of level II and Ib, and the two cities involved, Kanesh and Hahhum, were also different, not only because the latter seems to have lost its king and was ruled by an oligarchy, but also due to their location and strategic importance. The purely geographical aspect is clear from what the Hahhum treaty stipulates in Ed in connection with the crossing of the Euphrates, and it may also explain why the Kanesh treaty does not speak about the acquisition of gold by its ruler and about transit fees, since the caravans returning to Assur started out from there. Apūm (B) presumably played a different role as road station and was much closer to Assur. The mention of a possible war with Hahhum's main neighbours, Batna and Timilkia, is matched by Dk, where there is hardly room for the names of possible enemies and the statement "you are at war" may have sufficed. Cf provides a good parallel by simply mentioning "hostilities". Why the Hahhum treaty is much longer and more detailed (even though we have only half of its text) than D is unknown. Since treaties existed during the level II period, we may assume that there was a continuity, which may also explain the difference in the sequence of the items treated in D and E. Since the treaty texts take the characteristics of each town into

<sup>906</sup> This links up with kt 94/k 808:10f. and 33f., "As for the *sukinnu*-route, as I hear the orders are strict ... , if you see that the *sukinnu*-route is not given free...." (*waššurāt*).

<sup>907</sup> Quoted in Balkan 1974, 29 note 2.

consideration (also in C, which was only a road station), the history of their relations with the Assyrians may also have played a role, but we have too few data to prove this.

As for the differences between level II and Ib, it seems clear that the role of tin has diminished and this may explain why (unless the missing parts of E were to prove me wrong) the basic rules of the *nishatu*-tax of two kilograms per donkey-load are not mentioned. As concerns the textiles, the rulers can still acquire them as *nishatu*-tax (Da), but there are additional stipulations about the possibility to buy selected textiles at favorable prices, which seem to be a continuation of the right of pre-emption that was standard during the level II period. While these stipulations mention the well-known types of imported textiles (*kutānum*, *abarnium*, *kusitum*, *raqqatum* and *makūhum*), Dh in a short passage mention the ruler's right to obtain *parakannu*-textiles as *nishatu*-tax and the rate of ten percent is twice that current during level II. *Parakannū* were Anatolian woolen products, cheaper than those which the Assyrians imported, but not without quality.<sup>908</sup> At some moment during level II the City Assembly issued a verdict and formulated a rule that forbade Assyrians to deal in *saptinnu*- and *pirikannu*-textiles and penalized "many people",<sup>909</sup> probably a measure to protect the import trade and/or the local Assyrian textile production, but it did not prevent Assyrians from continuing to trade them. The more surprising it is to find that trade in these products according to Dh is an accepted fact and is integrated into the text of the treaty with Kanesh. But its strange place, between stipulation about the protection of the possessions of the Assyrians that about fugitive debtors (Dg and i) may suggest that it was a later addition. The mention of these textiles implies that they Assyrians traded in them during the level Ib period, but thus far the evidence for this, alongside new types of textiles (*kuššatum* and *saqqum*) that turn up now, is rather poor.<sup>910</sup>

Another feature which gets remarkably much attention is the protection of indebted Assyrians, who have to satisfy their creditors with pledges, whose possessions can be seized and whose dependents can come into the power of Anatolian creditors. During level II there are also cases where Assyrians were indebted to Anatolians and occasionally Assyrians may take out a loan with Anatolians,<sup>911</sup> but they were exceptions and it is only during the level Ib period that we read (in KBo 9, 5:11f.) "I paid 1 mina

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<sup>908</sup> See for *pa/ira/ikannu*-textiles, AOATT 124ff. There are now many additional references, Kt 94/k 1675:21, speaks of the purchase of "soft and fine" (*narbum*, *wasmum*) specimens, kt 94/k 364:17 mentions "extra fine" *p.*, kt n/k 518:94f. *p.* of the land Hahhum, TC 1, 43:3f. *p.* of Mamma, and kt 89/k 421:4 records a number of no less than 209 *p.* Purchase of and trade in *p.* is mentioned a. o. in kt 94/k 443: 12 (29 *p.*), 463 (21 *p.*), 1124:10f. (63 *p.* at 7 minas of copper apiece), 1302 (165 shekels of silver for 90 soft *p.*, or a little less than 2 shekels apiece), 1457:12 (44 *p.*), 1674:10 (114 *p.*). See for trade in these textiles also the damaged letter CCT 6, 38b.

<sup>909</sup> VS 26, 9:30ff., latest treatment in Veenhof 2003d, 89f., a clear example of protecting the local textile industry and trade, of which another example was analyzed *ibidem* 91ff.

<sup>910</sup> See Dercksen 2001a, 64.

<sup>911</sup> AKT 2, 53:20ff., "Make Š. pay the silver and if he refuses tell him: sl will borrow it at interest in the house of an Anatolian!". In kt k/k 78:7ff. an Assyrian, summoned to make silver available, answers "(If I do it) the Anatolian might take away my house!", whereupon his opponent reproaches him for not having mentioned earlier that he was indebted to that man. In kt m/k 69:42f. an Assyrian has to confess that "he entered the house of an Anatolian and borrowed there two pounds of silver for the burial of his father".

and 1/2 shekel of silver in Kanesh to the native Anatolian and so got you out of his house". This shows, as pointed out by Dercksen 2001a, 66, that during level Ib Assyrians were economically weaker and more often indebted and the treaty stipulations reflect this new situation, which requires protective measures.

The stipulations which have to protect the Assyrians from summonses to perform services for the local ruler and from decrees which demand the manumission of slaves (Dj) are also new features and I believe that it is extremely unlikely that during the level II period the possibility of conscripting Assyrians for service was even considered. The Assyrians in that same period owned Anatolian slaves, bought as chattel slaves or acquired when Anatolian debtors defaulted and persons entered into debt-servitude. But, while we have evidence that the local ruler of Kanesh could "wash the debts away" (Balkan 1974) and there even is an unpublished debt-note, which in this connection uses the term *addurārum*, there is no indication that this might affect Assyrians. I consider the many, often detailed new stipulations meant to protect the Assyrians, which may well have been inspired by painful experiences, indications that the position of the Assyrian traders had become weaker. They were still traders who imported goods and administratively ranged under their own *kārum* and City, but they were present in smaller numbers, with less economic power and more involved in inner-Anatolian commercial activities. This made them more vulnerable for demands and measures of the at times powerful local rulers, such as the "great king" of Kanesh mentioned in D:90.

The treaties show that the Assyrians successfully tried to conclude agreements with the Anatolian rulers, which offered them economic and legal protection, because their trading activities, both as importers and as traders active inside Anatolia and between the various city-states, made them valuable for the local rulers and economy. The oaths sworn by their own gods, who would watch (*dagālum*, D:89) (and punish) their Anatolian partners if they did not keep what they had promised, must have convinced the The Assyrians that the agreements would work.

## VI. ANATOLIAN TITLES, OFFICIALS AND PAYMENT TERMS

1. ANATOLIAN TITLES AND OFFICIALS<sup>912</sup>1. 1. *TITLES OF THE TYPE RABI + NOUN IN THE GENITIVE*

The texts acquaint us with a great variety of titles and professional designations, which show that Anatolian towns and palaces, in particular those of the capitals, were well organized under an administrative hierarchy. In many cases, however, in particular for the more important officials, little more than titles (like "second in command", *šinahilum*; "head of the stairway", *rabi simmilitim*; "head of the market", *rabi mahīrim*), which tell us little about their status and competence, and for most professional designations we lack a meaningful context to give us concrete information about their tasks and affiliation. The reason is that most of them occur as witnesses in Anatolian legal documents, in particular from the level Ib period, or as persons who were involved in or supervised transactions in the sphere of debts sale and family law, and it is often difficult to make out whether they figure as private persons or *ex officio*. During the level II period many are mentioned in letters, when Assyrians report on their trips, transactions and commercial contacts, others occur in lists, usually as clients and debtors of the Assyrians or as member of the palace administration. More information is supplied by letters which report on problems and confrontations with a number of high officials (especially *the rabi simmilitim* and *rabi sikkitim*), but in many cases it remains unclear to which towns they belong, unless the find-spots of the texts are known, as is e. g. the case with kt s/t 92, found on the city-mound of Kanesh.<sup>913</sup> As examples of lists, which register many Anatolians as clients, presumably debtors, I mention BIN 6, 193; CCT 5, 34b; CCT 6, 34a; KTS 1, 58a; TC 3, 191.<sup>914</sup>

In what follows I present the titles of dignitaries and other officials list form, and the first list contains titles of the type *rabi* + noun in the genitive. The second list gives a number of titles without *rabi*, whose bearers seem to have had administrative functions, and it includes occurrences where a title holder is said to "belong to" (*ša*) an other, higher official or to be from a particular town.<sup>915</sup> In many cases, especially when applied to a witness in an Anatolian record,<sup>916</sup> the title alone was considered sufficient to identify its

<sup>912</sup> See for earlier literature Garelli 1963, 216ff., Veenhof 1982, 160 note 42, Donbaz 1996b, 236ff., and Hecker 2003, 184 note 4.

<sup>913</sup> See for this text Özgüç 1986, pl. 62.1, and Donbaz 1993a, 131f. note 9.

<sup>914</sup> See for these texts Ulshöfer 1995 nos 310, 320, 328, 350, and 370, and for CCT 6, 34a also above II.2.3.5.

<sup>915</sup> Several additional titles of this type, found in text editions and listings, cannot be accepted:

\**rabi dajjālē*, kt n/k 1429:9 (so Çeçen 1995, no.8), read *išti Galdāya* IGI *Hadda*[.....];

\**rabi eriqqātim*, "chief of the wagons", BIN 6, 258:8, wrong, see Dercksen 1996 note 207;

\**rabi siparrim*, "chief of bronze", KUG 24:11, read GAL ZABAR, "bronze cup";

\**rabi bētim*, KUG 24: 13, "majordomus", read: *ša<sup>12</sup> 1 1/3 mana kaspim ša-wi-ru*, "bracelets".

<sup>916</sup> Dercksen 2004b, 151 note 36, has suggested that in some cases, where a professional is identified as being (in the service) of the queen,



bearer, who remains anonymous. Others add names, but only a limited number of references sheds some light on their office and activities, in particular those of the *rabi hursātim*, *mahirim*, *sikkitim*, and *simmiltim*. The titles composed with *rabi* are usually of two kinds, depending on the meaning of the added noun. If it refers to an impersonal item, the title identifies the official is "the head of, in charge of ...." certain goods, facilities or places. In such cases the noun can be both in the singular (*rabi mahirim*) and in the plural (*rabi essē*). When the following noun refers to persons we consider the title bearer their chief ("upper ....."), the head of a group of professionals (*rabi lāsīmē*, *nappāhē*, *šāqē*). But there is some confusion, since we have *rabi nappāhē* and *rabi nappāhim*, *rabi rēʿē* and *rabi rēʿim*, *rabi šābē* and *rabi šābim*. Perhaps *rabi* + noun was conceived as a compound noun (\**rabnappāhum*?), which as such (especially after IGI/*mahar*, "in the presence of", when the title bearer figures as witness) received a genitive ending. But we may also think of scribal mistakes, in particular if the title occurs in purely Anatolian records.

rabi	meaning	references and literature
<i>abullātim</i>	chief of gates	kt g/t 42 + z/t 11:8.
<i>adrim</i>	chief of the threshing floor	RA 58 (1964) 130:3; CCT 6, 34a rev:7, owes copper; kt k/k 31:3, Šariša <i>rabi šābim ša r. a.</i> EL 188:7, <i>r. a. ša rabi sikkitim</i> ; TC 3, 181:2, <i>allahinnum</i> GAL (owes wheat); BIN 6, 66:33 (has to give silver). See below on simple <i>allahinnum</i> .
<i>alpātim</i>	chief of oxen	EL 219:21, Kulakula (hardly [ <i>k</i> ] <i>albātim</i> ).
<i>ar</i> -[ ]	chief of ....	kt 89/k 376:5, Hašui <i>rabi ar-x</i> -[....]
<i>ašlakē</i>	chief of the fullers	kt 93/k 501:2ff. (courtesy Michel), PN <i>šāpirum rabi ašlakē ša rubātim</i> .
<i>awilē</i>	chief of men	kt 87/k 39:27f., Tam(u)ria, witness.
BA- <i>tē-e</i> <sup>917</sup>	chief of .....?	kt s/t rev.:5? Donbaz 1993, 132 notes 9 and 11, reads DUMU <i>rabi pā-tē</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>e</i> , but DUMU and E are doubtful (see photo in T. Özgüç 1986, pl. 61,1a-c); read prob- ably <i>rabi kalbātim</i> , see below s.v.
<i>bētim</i>	major domus	kt n/k 1888, Ašēʿed.
<i>bi<sub>4</sub>-lā-ti</i>	chief of .....?	kt 73/k 12:3 (Özgüç 1986, pl. 61,2).
<i>eššē</i>	chief of the wood	EL 219:18, Harša <i>r. eššē</i> , reading based on MAH 19616:8 (RA 59 [1965] 47, nr. 22), Halgiašu [x] <i>ša</i> GIŠ.HIA.
GI- <i>sū-um</i>	chief of .....	kt n/k 31:3, Galia <i>r. G.</i>
<i>hattim</i>	chief scepter bearer <sup>917</sup>	KTH 36:26, debt of house of GAL <i>ha-tim</i> ; ICK 1, 46 seal A (= Teissier 1994, no. 221) + 2, 76-77 + KKS 45, seal of Zatiبرا GAL <i>ha-ti-im</i> , cf. Özgüç 1953a, 240a, no. 721. Cf. kt s/t 92 obv.: 2', PN .....[ <i>ša h</i> ] <i>a-tim</i> . Title in Mari, cf. B. Lafont, NABU 1988/29:3.

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*rabi*, "chief", has been omitted, see below under *rabi rēʿim*, on ICK 1, 13:6f.  
<sup>917</sup> A reading *Hattim*, yielding "Chief of Hattum" is excluded, since Hattum is not a state.

<i>huršātim</i>	chief of storehouses	<p>kt g/t 42:25' // kt g/t 36:5f., persons in the service of Halgiašu <i>r. h.</i>;</p> <p>CCT 3, 28b:12; tablet De Munck :16;</p> <p>kt m/k 135:17, is promised textiles;</p> <p>kt 91/k 108:1-3, textiles given to the <i>r. h.</i>;</p> <p>VS 26, 146:7, receives textiles in the temple of the weathergod;</p> <p>kt 89/k 371:5, Ku(or:Ha)nuwan <i>r. h.</i></p> <p>See Dercksen 1996, 69f. for storerooms of the palace mentioned in kt n/k 1318:9-12.</p>
<i>kakkē</i>	chief of weapons	<p><i>DTCFD</i> 6, 507<sup>85</sup>; TC 3, 158:8, <i>r. kà-ke</i></p> <p>BIN 4, 163:4, <i>r. kà-ke-e</i>.</p> <p>Eponym 65 is identified as <i>ša kakkē</i>, see Veenhof 2003, 26.</p>
<i>kalbātim</i>	chief of the bitches	<p>AKT 3, 41:17f., Šipunahšuš;</p> <p>Chantre 2:21f., Kulakua <i>r. [ka]-al-ba-tim</i>;</p> <p>kt c/k 1641:17, Nawašu <i>r. k. bēlšu ša Kuliya</i></p> <p>Here also PN's <i>ša GAL BA-tim</i>, kt g/t 36:8-13, <i>M. ina ālim</i> Parwā, <i>R. ina ālim</i> Zapala, <i>P. ina ālim</i> Waršama?</p> <p>See under <i>BA-tē-e</i>.</p>
<i>kirānim</i>	chief of the wine	kt 93/k 946, Šimnuman (courtesy Michel).
<i>kiriātim</i>	chief of the gardens	kt 87/k 253:1, Hištahšu, Hecker 1998a no. 8.
<i>kišarānim</i>	chief of ..... ?	<p>Müller-Marzahn 2000, no. 4:21, Kap(a)šunuwa (see for the PN TuM 1, 17d:6) (<i>kišarānum</i> = <i>kir-ša/eršum</i>, "jail"?).</p>
<i>kittātim</i>	chief of the linens?	<p>BIN 4, 160:8, copper <i>išti r. ki-ta-a-tim</i>.</p> <p>Cf. <i>AOATT</i> 152.</p>
<i>lāsimē</i>	chief of the runners	kt 87/k 39:20f., Peruwa, lord of Kikaršan.
<i>lukšē</i>	chief of .....?	ATHE 67:7, <i>lu-uk-š[ē]</i> , see <i>AHW</i> 562a s.v.
<i>māhīrim</i>	chief of the market	<p>CCT 2, 18:35; <i>DTCFD</i> 6, 508 note 94;</p> <p>Aše<sup>3</sup>ed, kt n/k 32:8, 34 (witness);</p> <p>Dušara, kt r/k 15:15f., 25 (his <i>unuššum</i> and <i>arhalum</i>, see Dercksen 2004b, 142;</p> <p>Halgiašu, witness at slave sale, kt 93/k 215b:22;</p> <p>Hašu<sup>3</sup>uman, kt 89/k 383:3;</p> <p>Kalua, kt k/k 35:1 and kt 87/k 39:22;</p> <p>Parwaliuman, kt k/k 10:15f. (receives some silver at the sale of a house);</p> <p>Wašhuba, TC 3, 253:1; BIN 6, 226B:15;</p> <p>CCT 5, 26a:2 (witness to sale of pigs).</p> <p>See <i>AOATT</i> 394f., with note 519.</p>
<i>maššartim</i> or <i>maššarātim</i>	chief of the guards	<p>Anonymous: BIN 6, 235:3*; kt m/k 132:2;</p> <p>kt c/k 99: 6, took textiles in absence of ruler;</p> <p>kt 87/k 447:5, 23, <i>allahhinnum</i> and <i>r. m.</i> in</p> <p>Ušša approached for debt at palace gate;</p> <p>C 5:9f., Nakile<sup>3</sup>ed; EL 223:6', [PN];</p> <p>BIN 4, 160:5, Sulia.</p> <p>Cf. Atana <i>ša maššarātim</i>, kt k/k 91:19;</p> <p>Zuba <i>ša maššarātim</i>, kt 87/k 274:2;</p> <p>anonymous, KUG 24:13.</p>
<i>mūšē</i> *	chief of .....	CCT 1, 38c:6, grain <i>bēt r. m.</i> ;

kt n/k 1854:2, Tarikuta, *r. mūšēm ša r. sikkitim*.

More frequent is *mūšium* alone, see CAD M/II

249f., *mūšū* B, "official", see note 829.

*nāg/kirē* chief of heralds?

TC 3, 214B:2f., Elali;

kt n/k 31:5 and kt 99k/ 128A: 2, Peruwa;

kt n/k 32:1, 33, Happuala;

kt 89/k 379:1f., Wališra [GAL *n*] *a-ki-re*.

*nappāhē* chief of blacksmiths

TC 3, 254:1 and kt 94/k 158:18, Kurā;

kt 89/k 193:6, anonymous *r. nappāhim*;

Cf. kt g/t 36:27, 2 *nappāhū ina Kaniš*;

kt 94/k 208:26ff., silver for *nappāhum* "who forged *amūtum* in the palace".

*niqē* chief of offerings

kt 99/k 138A:4, Kammalia.

*nuk(i)ribbē* chief gardener

ICK 1, 111:10, debt of 4 minas of silver;

kt p/k 5+6:11, *r. nu-uk-ri-bi<sub>4</sub>*;

Prag I 610:10, anonymous;

89/k 367:24f., Hadiani.<sup>918</sup>

*paššūrē* chief of tables,

EL 219:19f., Šulia;

TPAK 1, 205:7, Tarikuda *ša r. p.*, but in kt m/k 35:40 he is called *ša i.GIŠ*;

kt m/k 5 rev. 2, Karia *r. p. ša rubā'im*;

kt n/k 533:6, Zuba, delivers copper;

See below § 1.2.4, for persons *ša paššūrē*.

*perdim* chief of the mule(s)

kt 87/k 320:14, owes a debt;

kt 94/k 1226:5, textiles sold to him.

*qaqqidē* chief of .....

kt j/k 625:4f., *Pithana* [*r.*] *q.* (Donbaz 1989a, 84).

*rē'ē/rē'im\** chief of herdsmen

kt g/t 42+:10, men *ša r. re-i-e-em* ina Kanesh;

kt g/t 42+:26f., *ša r. r. ina ālim* Kasena;

CCT 1, 41b:5; kt 88/k 990, and kt 88/k 1063:4, all Peruwa;

kt 94/k 1527:14, Hašui;

BIN 6, 193:5', anonymous.

kt 93/k 501:5, *allahhinnum ša r. r.\**

Dercksen (2004b, 151 note 36) takes Happuala

*re-i-um ša rubātīm* in ICK 1, 13:6f. as short for *rabi rē'ē*.

*sikkā/itim* chief of the .....

See below, § 1.2.3.

*simmiltim* chief of the stairway

Passim in notarizations, see ch. IV, 2.5.1.

kt b/k 95:17, should receive a gift to save the lives of some (Assyrian) men;

kt g/t 36:28f., Turupani, personnel of him;

kt 89/k 317:4, took price of house *iššer* PN's;

kt 89/ k 353, Kura, sells family to Assyrian;

kt 94/k 208:7, buys expensive textile;

kt 91/k 282:8, *tuzinnum ša r. s.*;

Müller-Marzahn 2000, no. 4, house bought

*iqqātē r. s.* (see IV.2.5.1, no. 20)

kt 94/k 1495, payment of silver to a *r. s.*

TPAK 45:6f., 70 m. of copper *ša bēt r. s.*;

<sup>918</sup> Cf. *nukiribbum* in OIP 27, 10:25, *inūmi Bu x x nu-ki-ri-/ba-a[m]* *nissiu*; kt 73/k 14 rev.:12, 2 *nukiribbē*; Prag I 625:4 .

KTk 106:23, witness of a debt arrangement;

EL 273, boycott of *r. s.* who does not pay;

kt b/k 95:17, to be approached with a gift;

TC 3, 254:2; kt a/k 805:2, brothers of *r. s.*;

OIP 27, 5:12, *rubātum* + *r. s.* of Šalahšuwā<sup>2</sup>

approached because of *hapiru*-prisoners.

KTH 35:2, *bēt r. s.*;

wife of *r. s.*, BIN 4, 2:24; 38: 27; CCT 2, 30:14;

TC 3, 15:21; A 22181 (*Studies Veenhof* 139):10.

ATHE 12:1,8,10, Tarmana, buys slave;

TC 3, 16:14, anonymous, debtor.

CCT 2, 30:10\*, Happuasu (debtor);

kt 89/k 342:4,10f., Wašhaniuman, belongs to the

*tuzinnum ša qaštim ša rabi sikkitim* (14ff.);

kt n/k 32:12, Bulina *r. šabēšu* of priest Inar;

KKS 21a:4f., b:6, Hištahšu\*, *r. šabēšu*, scil. of the

*allahhinnum* of GN;

kt 94/k 1501, Aše<sup>2</sup>ed\*;

kt m/k 7:10, "both *r. š.'s*" will give silver;

m/k 127:3, *r. maššarātīm* and *rabi šabēšu*;

kt k/k 31:3, Šariša *r. š.\* ša rabi adrim*, witness;

kt a/k 852:5, Tatašmiš\*, owes silver for gold

(kt a/k 843:3f., same man = *abu rabišim*<sup>2</sup>);

kt n/k 72:1, Laliaš *r. s.\* ša rabi sikkitim*;

kt a/k 1263: 6, Hanu *r. š.\**, member of the *ubā-*

*dinnum* of the *rabi sikkitim*;

kt c/k 1641:20f., Inarme<sup>2</sup>i *r. s.\**

ATHE 66:20 and BIN 4, 93:5f., silver due from

*rubātum u r. š.*

kt 93/k 501:22, a slave of the house of the *r. šē-ri*.

See AfO 20 (1963) 170a.<sup>919</sup>

kt c/k 1641:19f., Tuhilia GAL i.GIŠ.

Cf. Tarikuda ša i.GIŠ in kt m/k 35:40, and

Veenhof 2003, 25, PN ša i.NUN.

POAT 40A:7, Nakile<sup>2</sup>ed, *r. ša-qi-e* (but TCL 1,

242:5 has Nakile<sup>2</sup>ed *r. šariqē*);

kt gt 42+44, men *urki r. š.*;

TuM 1, 4b:13, *bēt r. š.* owes silver;

kt 89/k 266:7, anonymous, receives gift;

kt j/k 625:2f., 89/k 379:2f., Tu[dhalia *r. š.*].

TCL 1, 242:5, Nakile<sup>2</sup>ed; see *rabi šaqē*.

kt n/k 32:1, Peruwa *r. šē-i*;

kt n/k 31:3f., *r. šē-i-e*, kt 89/k 376:1, *r. šē-l*,

kt 99/k 128A:1, *r. šē-e-e*, all: Inar.

kt 94/k 158:19f., Halitka *r. šī-na-tim* (witness).

kt 94/k 229, rev.:10, *bēt r. š.*

kt v/k 152:15, 20f., payment to and men of the

*ubād<inn>im ša r. š.* (slave sale);

kt m/k 24:20, silver owed by *bēt r. š.*

*sisē* chief of horses

*šabē/šabim\** chief of the workers

*š/zeri(m)* chief of .....

*šamnim* chief of oil

*šaqē* chief cupbearer

*šariqē* chief of oblates

*še<sup>2</sup>ē* chief of barley

*šinātīm* chief of .....

*šug/katinne<sup>2</sup>* chief of .....

*sukkalim* chief vizier<sup>2</sup>

<sup>919</sup> The parallel ATHE 66 refutes the doubts expressed in CAD S, 148 s.v. *šēru* A.

<i>targumannē</i>	chief of interpreters	BIN 6, 193:1, anonymous. The title implies the existence of Anatolian interpreters; those known by name are Assyrians: CCT 4, 29b:7, Šumma-libbi-Aššur; AKT 3, 30:19f., Aššur-malik; kt 92/194:40, Istar-pilah ( <i>targumeānum</i> ).
<i>ummanāti</i>	chief of the troops?	kt p/k 5+6:20, <i>abu bēti ša r. ū-ma-na-ti</i> (coll.).
<i>urdē</i>	chief of the slaves	kt n/k 32:5, Kuwatar <i>r. ur-dē ša E/e-lá-nim</i> ; KKS 57:1, Hudarlani <i>r. ur-de<sub>8</sub>-e<sup>1</sup></i> .
<i>ūr-qē</i>	chief of the vegetables(?)	kt s/t 92:6, Arzanahšu <i>r. ur-qē</i> ; VS 26, 125:13', Talia <i>r. wa-ar-qē</i> ; TuM 1, 27d:1f, <i>1 kutānum</i> for [...] <i>r. ur-qē</i> .
<i>ūtu'ē</i>	chief of the gatekeepers	OIP 27, 19:22, <i>r. ū-tū-e</i> , witness, according to Dercksen 2001a 46, with note 37.

## 1.2. VARIOUS TITLES AND OFFICIALS

There are many designations of craftsmen, professionals and local officials, the latter in particular in lists of travel expenses of caravans, edited in Nashef 1987, nos. 25ff., which include many small payments to local dignitaries, designated as *bēl ālim*, *bēl ha-Dī-tim*, *kaššum*, *massu'um*, *rābišum*, and *šāpir ālim*. The following lists does not include those of the craftsmen etc., and I also limit myself to those in Anatolia and those which seem to have belonged to (*ša*) a town, an institution or an estate, or were in the service of (*ša*, occasionally *ša urki*, "follower of") a high official or even the ruler. Note that we have no references to officials belonging to a temple, apart from the priests (*kumrum*, see below § 1.2.3), as we also lack information on possessions or economic activity of the temples. Some of these "offices" (designated as *paršum*) were granted by the ruler, at times in exchange for a present (*erbum*), see Veenhof 1989, 523. In the letter published there an Anatolian has paid to acquire the offices of *šinahilum* and *allahhinnum*, which also shows that cumulation of offices was possible.

### 1.2.1. ALLAHHINNUM, "STEWARD, MANAGER"

The *allahhinnum* was important official in the local economy, possibly a kind of manager or steward in the service of various magnates and institutions, and especially of the local palaces; his role in the economy and trade has been described in Dercksen 1996, 166ff. The references suggest that there was presumably in most cases only one per town, apparently the reason for referring to him by his title and not mentioning his name. A *rabi allahhinnim* occurs in capitals, where he may have been the head of a branch of the palace economy. Rare cases where his name is given are TC 1, 87:26, *Haršumnuman a.*, and kt 94/k 1512, *Šariša a.* He is occasionally identified by mentioning the name of the town where he functioned, in Ušša (nisbe, CCT 5, 28b:5; perhaps also CCT 5, 35c:2f. *ša Ū-<di>-ša<sup>2</sup>*), Nenašša (nisbe, kt a/k 488b:1f.<sup>920</sup>), Tahadizina (kt 91/437:21), Tiwadi (kt 94/k 1504:3f.), *a. šaplum* of Tumlia (kt 94/k 1502:3f.). Kt b/k 682b:6ff. mentions the/an *allahhinnum* of Talhat, a city located in the western part of the Khabur Triangle

<sup>920</sup> Letter to him by an Assyrian trader, who reminds him that he has to pay for two textiles *ša lubuš rubā'im* and lapis lazuli shipped to him by the *a.*'s own *rādium*.

An *a.* can be associated with a *rabi sikkitim* (EL 188:17), a ruler (kt m/k 5:12, indebted for the price of a mule), a queen (kt m/k 35:13, Happuala, *ša rubātim*), and KKS 21:a:7f./b:5 mentions persons acting for the *ubādīnnim* of Aš'ed, the *a.* of Data'īs, followed by Hištahšu his *rabi šābim*. CCT 1, 33b:20 mentions silver due by the *a.* of the "Lord of the town" (*ša bēl ālim*), and kt m/k 78:22 the "*a.* of the temple of Bēl Qablim". Some texts mention his "house(hold)" (*bētum*), which fits the reference to "the gate of the *a.*" (CCT 5, 6b:31). A group of letters of Buzāzu (CCT 2, 30; TC 3, 14 and 15) describes transactions with "the household of the *a.*" and complains about the delay in the delivery of barley (CCT 2, 30:3ff., cf. TC 3, 14: 20ff. and 15:23ff.). CCT 2, 30:8ff. show that the *a.*'s household also comprised his brother and a chief of the personnel (*rabi šābim*), who also owed silver. As buyer of Assyrian goods (*ex officio* or for his own commercial purposes) an *a.* in CCT 2, 15:7f. promises to produce one talent of silver within one month for the goods he requests. Several texts mention sale of textiles "to the household of an *a.*" (two textiles in Garelli-Kennedy 1960a, no. 4:27f.; Prag I 575:11ff.; payment for textiles in barley in CCT 2, 30:3-5). In BIN 4, 45:25ff. an *a.* buys iron (*amūtum*), and BIN 4, 63:3 speaks of copper of "the house of the *a.*", the payment of which is "hanging" or "suspended" (*išqallalma ana šaqālimma*, cf. line 15, "they have not given any copper").

Since the *a.* was an important, powerful and at times also difficult customer, probably linked with the palace economy, one had to keep him a friend by gifts and invitations (BIN 4, 157: 29ff., see CAD B s.v. *bušālu*). Since he could be slow in paying, CCT 2, 30:31 advises to give barley only to "reliable *a.*'s." And a verdict of *kārum* Kanesh (kt a/k 606) orders to boycotta defaulting *a.*: "Whoever has given merchandise (for sale) to the house of the *allahinnum* shall not do so (anymore) until their silver becomes secure/established" (*ku'ānum*), which could mean until the house of the *a.* (to which "their silver" refers) has issued valid debt-notes acknowledging the claims, or until he has regained solvency.<sup>921</sup>

### 1.2.2. *KAŠŠUM*, "OFFICIAL"

Very frequent are persons designated as *kaššum* (conventional transcription for lack of a convincing etymology).<sup>922</sup> They occur as recipients of small payments or gifts in many towns passed by caravans,<sup>923</sup> and also as week-eponyms (*hamuštum*), always in the formula *hamuštum ša kaššim ša qātē* PN (*ilqe*), "week eponymy of the *kaššum*, who took over from PN", quite recently discussed in Kryszat 2004a, 162ff. The *kaššum* is nearly always anonymous,<sup>924</sup> and whatever the chronological position of the "*kaššum hamuštum*", it seems clear that the word is a general term for "dignitary" - those receiving gifts

<sup>921</sup> See for the verb *ku'ānum*, typical for OA in the G-stem (not recorded in the CAD K) Veenhof 1995a, 1729, with examples where it refers to "be confirmed/established" by witnesses or tablets (additional exmple in kt 94/k 1133:14f., *ina tuppēšu u šibēšu ikuanma .... ilaqqe*). If this is meant here one might think of a written acknowledgment of debt, repeatedly called *išurtum*, when issued by local palaces and officials, see Veenhof 1995c, 321ff.

<sup>922</sup> See Larsen 1976, 359f.

<sup>923</sup> See AOAT 253, the list in Nashef 1987, 23-26, and Kryszat 2004a, 162 note 523

<sup>924</sup> The exceptions are mentioned in Balkan 1965b, 173, note 34: D/Tumana in EL 14:11f., and D/Tuli in kt a/k 825:17. Kt i/k 5:7f. mentions the *kaššum* of (the town) Kupita.

in the towns passed by caravans may have been local chiefs or mukhtars - used because the scribes did not think it necessary to give or did not really know his name or title, some of which may not have had a suitable Assyrian equivalent. This was, in my opinion, also the case with the *kaššum* as eponym, because he always is the successor of the previous one, and the scribe probably did not (yet) know his name. This interpretation explains the widespread occurrence of this designation and is confirmed by a set of closely related letters already mentioned by Larsen.<sup>925</sup> In CCT 2, 30 Buzāzu writes about silver due from "the house of the *allahhinnum*" as payment for textiles and asks his correspondent: "Collect (the silver) from the *kaššum* and from his brother Aššur-bēli and from the chief of the personnel, Happuāšu, and so extract 10 pounds of silver from that house". In TC 3, 14 Buzāzu is much shorter and writes: "Be concerned about the silver, that of the *allahhinnum* and his brother and that of Happuāšu and my .....". The *allahhinnum* in the first letter is referred to as *kaššum*, because the scribe, having identified the debtor as "(the house of) the *allahhinnum*", continues by writing simply "the official (mentioned)". Kt 94/k 432:19f. registers a small payment to "the *kaššum* of Išhara", presumably a cultic official. There are also a few references to transactions that took place in the "house of the *kaššum*". According to kt 94/k 727:9f. two Assyrians settled accounts there (this is probably also meant in AKT 2, 34:14f.)<sup>926</sup> and according to kt b/k 144b:3f. (Balkan 1965b, 173 note 39) arbiters reached a verdict there. Since *kaššum* seems to be a general designation that substitutes for a specific title or function, it is not included in the list of § 1.2.4.<sup>927</sup>

### 1.2.3. *RABI SIKKA/ITIM*

Men with this title (henceforth *r. s.*) were important and powerful officials who belonged to the palace organization of Anatolian towns (see BIN 6, 23:6-9; in KTK 20:24 one "goes up", *elā'um*, to him) and could have personnel at their disposal.<sup>928</sup> The meaning of the title and the substance of his function are still unclear and recently also Kryszat 2004c, 25ff., who assumes that the function was similar in nature in the various towns, can only point out certain aspects of his activity, mentioning "Handelskoordinierung mit den Assuren" and "eine hervorragende Position im altanatolischen Staatswesen". There apparently was only one *r. s.* per town, the reason why the title, "*r. s.* of town GN", was sufficient to identify him. Proper names therefore are rarely mentioned, but in some texts he is explicitly linked with a particular town. In BIN 4, 45:18f. we meet those of Ušša and Hudurut, who want to buy *amūtum*; in TC 3, 271:24-27 the one of Ulama is to be asked for a "commissioner" (*rābišum*) to bring Assyrians safely into Wahšušana; kt

<sup>925</sup> Larsen 1976, 359, note 19. His argument probably was not followed up, because the numbers of both texts were misprinted, they should read CCT 2, 30 and TC 3, 14.

<sup>926</sup> The text lists 91 textiles belonging to different persons, followed by *ina Mamma bēt Abāya kâ-ši-im ni-si*, but where *šašā'um* without *nikkassi* could also mean "to call for, to claim".

<sup>927</sup> A different *kaššum* presumably in kt n/k 306:5ff., who asks payment of a debt "when the ruler enters the *kaššum*" (to which kt j/k 9:11 adds: "in the temple of Anna"), where *kaššum* seems to be a facility as part of a temple (see also Dercksen 2001a, 45 note 35).

<sup>928</sup> Soldiers (*radium*, kt m/k 127:15f., 133:14, and kt 87/k 479:5f.), a *rabi šābim* (kt n/k 72:1f.), a *rabi mūšēm* (kt n/k 1854:2), and a *rabi allahhinim* (KTK 106:7f.). In addition there is mention of the *tuzinnum* and an *ubādinnum* of the *r. s.* (kt a/k 1263a:4f., 11f.; kt 89/k 342:16f., *tuzinnum ša qaštim ša r. s.*), and of a threshing floor (*adrum*) of a *r. s.* (*Illustr. London News* of 14-1-1950, p. 70, fig. 16); see for most texts Kryszat 2004c, 39ff.

87/k 387:26,37, kt 92/k 564:14f.,42 and kt 93/k 936:4f. mention the one of Wahšušana; KTK 6: 5 the one of Wašhanian, and in TC 3, 70: rev.4 the *r. s.* of Ha[....] occurs. To which towns the *r. s.*'s with the names Ganuša (kt n/k 533:4) and Ahumila (VS 26, 51:25f.) belonged is not known.

Many occurrences are in texts where *r. s.*'s figure as (often difficult) customers of the Assyrians, who buy or supply merchandise (textiles, copper, iron) or are indebted to them (cf. CCT 2, 37b:25; 5, 1b:14,28; 13a:19; KTH 14:4, 26. The acknowledgment of such a debt can be recorded in a document called *išurtum* (kt 92/k 564:41f., kt 93/k 942:4). See for a case which shows his power in connection with the seizure of textiles, kt 87/k 387, presented in note 857. A different picture, again, offered by kt m/k 14 (Hecker 1996a, text 1, with commentary), where a *r. s.* (of which town is not mentioned) adjures an Assyrian trader (whom he addresses as "my son") not to report a sensitive piece of information to "the elders" (presumably the *kārum* authorities), while drinking to his health and invoking the favour of Aššur and Šamaš and drinking.

Above (V.3.4.2) I mentioned their interest in acquiring iron, for which they were ready to pay silver and gold. Kryszat 2004c has recently studied the term *sikkātum*, always in the plural and apparently the name for a large scale, perhaps ceremonial outdoor event and the title *r. s.*, presenting and discussing most of the ca. 30 references for the latter (p. 25ff. and 38ff.), to which I refer the reader. He tries to establish a link between the two, because the title is four times not spelled *rabi sikkitim* but *rabi sī-kā-tim*, and both terms occur together in kt 87/k 387:26ff., where we read that "the *r. s.* of Wahšušana is staying at/with/in (*ina*) the *sikkātim*", where an the Assyrian trader has visit him (*ana sikkātim ... illak*). Kryszat assumes (p. 27) that *sikkatum* (singular, in OA *sikkutum*, with vowel harmony) is the name of the object (in Akkadian a peg or nail, used a. o. as boundary marker, as part of a lock and as peg driven into the wall) which, in the plural, gave its name to the event *sikkātum*, which he calls "der Festzug der *sikkātum*". He constructs the following link between the title and the event. Since the *r. s.* was "Oberste über den/einen *sikkatum*" (singular) of one particular town, the existence many towns, each with its *r. s.*, meant that "mehrere *sikkātum* existiert haben", and the presence of all of them in one cultic centre would have given the event the name *sikkātum*. The *r. s.* present at such a ceremony would "nur in diesem Fall" have become (been called) *rabi sikkātim*, "Oberste über die *sikkatum*". This ingenious explanation fails to convince me, because in none of the four cases where the title is written *rabi sī-kā-tim* (Kryszat p. 26) and the noun could be plural, the required relation ("nur in diesem Fall") to the *sikkātum* ceremony is evident. Moreover, in TC 3, 271 the title of the *r. s.* of Ulama is written both *rabi sī-kā-tim* (line 24) and *rabi sī-ki-tim* (line 27), which suggests that the former is one of the cases where the Assyrian vowel harmony is not expressed (as in *uṭṭatim* alongside *uṭṭītim*). Kryszat's reconstruction also implies a fair measure of cooperation between the various towns, meeting in one cultic centre where their rulers, officials and people would have come together, which for an Anatolia divided into often rivaling city-states requires much more proof.<sup>929</sup> Until more evidence turns up the relation between *sikkātum* as a ceremony and the title remains problematic.

<sup>929</sup> See for the meaning of the *sikkātum* also notes 940. In note 747 I mentioned the important text kt 92/k 526 (complete text now in *ArAn5* [2002], 67f.), which suggests the presence of a violent element the *sikkātum* event (which may have been the reason for the worries of Assyrians, when it took place). Note that, contrary to what Hecker (KUG p. 105, 5) suggested, there is no evidence for its taking place in Assur too. The city mentioned in TC 2, 37: 4 (*a-<lim>ki*) refers to an Anatolian one, where due to the *sikkātum* silver and gold to be paid for wool and copper could not be collected. The



The title, as Kryszat also observes, is identical to that attested in the Old Babylonian period (occurrences *CAD S 253,b*), where its bearer played a role in the administration of the city, notably in Kutalla (Tell Sifr). Here a certain Qišti-Irra appears several times as a presumably official witness in house sales, both with the title *rabiānum*, "mayor", and with that of *r. s.*, which could reflect a development in his career; in one contract (Tell Sifr 45) the tablet designates him NU.BANDA<sub>3</sub> PA and the envelope as *r. s.*<sup>930</sup> The *r. s.* was prominent enough to feature in OB omīna as a man who could open the city-gate (in order to let an enemy in), start a revolt, seize the throne, and his death was also important enough to be mentioned (see *CAD S 254, d*). M. Stol in *OBO 160/4* (2004) 666f., suggests to explain his title from *sikkatum*, "peg", as part of the lock of a gate<sup>931</sup>, which would make the *r. s.* the official authorized to open and close the city-gate, which meant that he was responsible for the security of a town. If we assume that the Anatolian title (even if it was a translation of an Anatolian designation) was somehow inspired by its Mesopotamian analogue, already attested during the Ur III period (we have no examples from Assur), his duties may have been similar, covering perhaps both civic administration and security. His involvement in the trade might be part of his official duties, but could also be explained from the fact that he was rich enough to engage in commercial activities, facilitated by his association with the palace, in particular if it included admitting Assyrian caravans into a town or palace in order to have them cleared. But note that in Hahhum, where according to the new treaty a king seems to be missing, the *r. s.* is not among the "magnates" who are the treaty partners of the Assyrians and are entitled to levy taxes and buy merchandise (see V.2.2).

Two occurrences deserve separate mention. Prag I 651 records the settlement of claims in connection with the divorce of the Assyrian couple Pūšu-kēn and Lamassī, sealed by an oath sworn by (the gods) Aššur and Anna, the ruler (*rubā'um*), and the *rabi sikkatim*. Since the last two appear alongside the main gods of Aššur and Kanesh, they should be the main Assyrian and Anatolian civic authorities, and their role is perhaps explainable from the fact that the husband lived in Kanesh and his wife in Assur. One might have expected the local ruler to figure here, but perhaps the *r. s.* played a role in taking oaths. This might also be the case in the still unpublished letter kt a/k 1165 (Kryszat 2004c, 39, d) where the/a *r. s.* has to make the rulers of Burušhaddum and Wahšušana and a certain Ušunālum (probably identical to Uši/unālum, well attested in the kt 94/k archive as a powerful man involved in the wool trade) swear an oath, which would allow the Assyrian addressee to travel safely to Wahšušana. We do not know to which town the *r. s.* in question belonged, but mediating between and taking an oath from the rulers of different city-states to solve a conflict which hampered the trade was an important task, only entrusted to an important official.

#### 1.2.4. KUMRUM, "PRIEST"<sup>932</sup>

Priests usually occur as witnesses of legal transactions and occasionally also as creditors, in particular the priest of Higiša, who is attested in some records excavated in 1988

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letter must have been sent to Imdilum in Kanesh by his agent/transporter Ah-šalim, who was on business elsewhere in Anatolia (cf. his role in ICK 1, 135 and TC 1, 53).

<sup>930</sup> See for the Tell Sifre texts D. Charpin, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne. Étude des documents de "Tell Sifr"*, Genève 1980, and for the references p. 346, s.v. *rabi sikkatim*.

<sup>931</sup> See *CAD S 249, 2*, and for the construction of such a lock now A. Fuchs, *SAAS* 8 (1998) 97ff.

<sup>932</sup> Written logographically (GUDU<sub>x</sub>) and syllabically. Cf. Hirsch, 1972, 55ff. and 22\*f., Donbaz 1996a and Schwemer 2001, 242ff.

and 1992. His debtors are always Anatolians who owe him silver, barley and beer bread (*bappīrum*). In kt 88 k/1087 four persons owe him 200 beer breads and 21 bags of barley; in kt 88/k 1087 three minas of silver and two bags of barley, are owed by five persons, and in kt 89/k 314 and 358 a large group of people owe him considerable amounts of barley and beer breads.<sup>933</sup> The loans usually are secured by high interest, joint liability or pledges. One wonders whether the priest acted for his own account or used temple property for this purpose and whether he (or the temple) was somehow involved in the production of beer.

<i>god</i>	<i>priest</i>	<i>references</i>
Anna	Aluwa	kt 89/k 376:4; Azu, TC 3, 181:8.
<i>Bēl qablim</i>	Inar	kt n/k 32:10; An <i>allahhinnum</i> of the temple ( <i>bētum</i> ) of <i>Bēl qablim</i> in kt m/k 78:22f.
Higiša(m)	[.....] title only	El 188:24 (witness of sale into debt-servitude); kt 92/k 1038: 3f. ( <i>ša Hi-gi<sub>5</sub>-ša</i> ); kt 92/k 1047: 4f. ( <i>ša Hi-gi<sub>5</sub>-ši-im</i> ); kt 92/k 1048:4 ( <i>ša Hi-gi<sub>5</sub>-ša-am</i> ); kt 88/k 1082:15f. ( <i>awilum k. ša H.</i> );
	<i>awilum</i>	kt 88/k 383:1;
	Asuan	Müller-Marzahn 2000, no. 4:18f.;
	Haršula	OIP 27, 53:3, kt n/k 32:2f. (!);
	Kikarša(n)	kt 88/k 1087:14f.; kt 89/k 358:13f.
	Šiwašme <sup>3</sup> i	kt k/k 1:5.
Ilialianta	Tarhuše <sup>3</sup> ed	kt c/k 1340:13f.
<i>Ilal alim</i>	Nakile <sup>3</sup> ed	kt 89/k 371:2;
ḏiŠKUR	Ilaliuman	kt j/k 625:6f. (Donbaz 1993a, 139f.); kt f/k 80:1f.;
	Kā-zi	Prag I 837:2 <sup>3</sup> ;
	Peruwa	TC 3, 214B:4, kt 89/k 376:2, kt n/k 31:6f.;
	Šuhurpia	kt n/k 31:8f.;
	Šupunahšu	kt n/k 31:6v.;
	Wališra	TC 3, 191:11f. <sup>3</sup>
	Warkali	TC 3, 214B:1;
ḏiŠKUR <i>ša qaqqidim</i>	Peruwa	kt n/k 32:3, level Ib.
	Gadudu	BIN 6, 193:5; KTH 36:24;
Kubabat	[.....]	kt k/k 1:2;
	Peruwaš...	kt n/k 1787:1f.
	Nakile <sup>3</sup> ed	kt f/k 80:2f.;
Nārum (ḏiD <sub>2</sub> )	Appuna	kt f/k 80:4f.
	Labarša	kt 88/k 1090:5f.
Nipas	Šulili	kt k/k 10 :7; kt 89/k 383:1 (Donbaz 1993a, 134);
Nisaba	Wa-ša-tap-ra	kt 89/k 379:3f. <sup>934</sup>
	Kammalia	kt 87/k 320:21.
Peruwa	Happuala	ATHE 2:A,4 = B,5;
ḏiUTU	Haršu<m>numan	kt 89/k 371:1.
	Kuzia	

<sup>933</sup> In kt 89/k 314 seven people owe him 305 bags of barley and 270 beer breads (*bappīrum*), in kt 89/k 358 nine people 160 bags of barley and 400 beer breads, in both case to be delivered *ana harpē*.

<sup>934</sup> In all cases spelled *Ni-sā-ba*, cf. also kt 87/k139:6, payment *i-wa-ša Ni-sā-ba*, "when the grain comes up"

?	Ušhueni	Müller-Marzahn 2000, no. 4:20;
?	Hašui	kt 87/k 266:1;
?	Tarikuta	kt 87/k 266:2.
[.....]	anonymous	CCT 6, 34a:12 (owes copper).

### 1.2.5. OTHER TITLES AND FUNCTIONS

<i>ašlakum</i>	fuller	kt 94/k 833:31, Šubrum the fuller of the ruler; <sup>935</sup> TC 1, 87:9, the fuller of Šalinuman; see above under <i>rabi ašlakē</i> ;
<i>bēl alim</i>	town prefect	kt 94/k 195:1f., Peruwa <i>bēl bētim ša b. a.</i> ; TuM 1, 1b:4f., meeting with <i>b. a.</i> in palace; TC 3, 165:15 (of Nenašša); KTK 7:7'; CCT 6, 34a:15', copper owed by him; kt 91/k 548:4, one <i>nahlaptum</i> for him.
<i>bēl bētim</i>	majordomus	kt 94/ k 672:8, gift to PN <i>ša b. a.</i> kt 94/k 195:1f., Peruwa <i>b. b. ša bēl alim</i> ; kt 94/k 208:12, Šezur <i>bēl bētišu</i> of <i>rabi simmiltim</i> ; kt m/k 247f., PN <i>bēl bētišu ša Babala</i> ; Note: <i>bēlat bētim</i> in kt a/k 851:8f.; kt a/k 907:3, claim on <i>bēlat bētim ša mahirim</i> .
<i>bēl ha-Dī-tim</i>	.....	TC 3, 165:17, a gift to him.
<i>bēl mātīm</i>		CCT 6, 34a:4, owes copper
<i>bēl mutim</i>	lord of .....	kt s/t 92:11':4, PN <sub>1-4</sub> , 4 <i>bēl mutim</i> .
<i>ba/urullum (rabium)</i>	(great) "chief"	OIP 27, 49B:9f., Happuala <i>b. r.</i> of Amkuwa; kt r/k 1, Aniškibal <i>b. r. ša Tiburzia</i> ; <sup>936</sup> CCT 1, 29:8, <i>barullum</i> ša Bahadima; Prag I 491:3f., kt 87/k 386:40f., Ili-bāni <i>burallum</i> .
<i>mūšium</i>	.....	See above under <i>rabi mūšê/mūšim</i> and for his role in the Hahhum treaty, note 829. TC 3, 161:5, invitation to the <i>bēt mūšim</i> ; kt b/k 198:18, textiles sold to "the house of the <i>m.</i> ". kt 89/k 243:8, 8 tal. of wool <i>ša bēt mūšim</i> ; kt 94/k 1461 12f., 17f., a <i>mūšim</i> is feared since he had not received the iron promised.
<i>nāšir alim</i>	protector of the city	kt 89/k 370:33f. (his <i>arhālum</i> ); kt m/k 24:24f., PN <i>ša n. a.</i>
<i>nāšir Kaniš</i>	protector of Kaniš	kt n/k 31:1, Niwašu (witness at house sale); kt 89/365:4f., Peruwa (his <i>arhālum</i> ).
<i>rādiūm</i>	soldier, armed escort	passim, but note <i>r. ša rubā'im</i> , KKS 21b:4; <i>r. ša rubātīm</i> , TC 3, 211:45.
<i>ša haṭṭim</i>	scepter bearer(?)	kt s/t 92:2', Asupala (cf. kt 89/371:7) 10'; kt 00/k 18:2, Kammalia.
<i>šakkanakkum</i>	governor	kt n/k 1374:25, sent to Amkuwa

<sup>935</sup> See for fullers and their task, Dercksen 2001a, 62 with note 130.

<sup>936</sup> See for *burullum*, CAD B 344. In AHTE 31:41f., *kima K. i-Bu-[u]-lim* [x x x (x)] <sup>43</sup> *ṭā[us<sup>1.2</sup>]-bu-ma*, the preposition *i(na)* rules out a title and suggests the place-name Bura/ullum (see Nashef 1991, 27, with now several additional occurrences; see for Mari, Charpin-Ziegler 2003, 100 note 206, and 273).

<i>ša paššūrē</i>	butler	kt s/t 92 rev.:6', several men; kt 89/k 371:8, Nikile'ed; cf. <i>rabi paššūrē</i> .
<i>ša patrim</i> (GIR)	dagger bearer(?) <sup>937</sup>	kt 89/k 371,4, Happuāšu <i>ša</i> GIR <sub>2</sub> ; kt 89/k 370:1f., Wa[....] <i>ša</i> GIR <sub>2</sub> ; TC 3, 214B:16, Šaduwan <i>ša</i> GIR <sub>2</sub> (collated).
<i>šāpirum</i>	manager, administrator	kt m/k 5:3f, Inarme'i š. <i>ša bēt M</i> ; kt g/t 36:16, Kulalala; Garelli 1965, 20 no.2:4, U'ušhata; CCT 4, 44b:26, š. <i>Mammāium</i> ; m/k 24:27f.. PN š. <i>ša bēt Marila</i> ; TC 3, 165:7f., anonymous <i>šāpir alim</i> .
<i>ša qašti</i>	bow-man	kt oo/k 18:11, Huknuan š. <i>q</i> .
<i>šinahilum</i>	second in command	TC 3, 75:7, <i>rubā'um</i> and š. of Naduhtum; š. of Hahhum, treaty I[III]:12', [II]IV:[4'], receives merchandise (see above V.2.2). In Nešr C 1 (Veenhof 1989, 518):17, the abstract <i>šinahilūtum</i> .
<i>watar</i> ?	?	kt 88/k 1070:1, Šezur <i>wa-ta-ar</i> ; kt 86/k 9-10, Harša'an/il <i>wa-ta-ar</i> ; kt 99/k 138A:3, seal of <i>Du-ba wa-tar</i> .

<sup>937</sup> See Donbaz 2001a, 92. He connects *patrum* with the dagger (of Aššur) by which the oath was sworn, but this is unlikely as a title of Anatolians.

<sup>938</sup> See Donbaz 2001a, 94. Not to be derived from Akkadian *watrum*, "extra, additional", since an absolute state is ruled out as profession or title. He also quotes kt 87/k 39:24ff., "before K. *ina É A-na pa-at-ru-um*", where *patrum* in the nominative in apposition to *mahar* PN is unlikely.

## 2. TERMS OF PAYMENT IN ANATOLIAN DEBT-NOTES

Many debt-notes in which Anatolians figure as creditors and debtors, quite a number where they are debtors of Assyrians, but also some between Assyrians,<sup>939</sup> do not (in a few cases not only) indicate terms of payment by mentioning a week, month or year, but by seasonal events, such as the phases of and activities during the agricultural year and by the festivals of a number of gods.<sup>940</sup> The festivals in many cases were probably also linked with the agricultural calendar, when important moments of the season were celebrated by religious ceremonies. Their use suggests that ancient Anatolia by that time had not yet developed a calendar with month-names, as it was also not customary to date events and contracts by the number or name of a ruler's regnal year. A few debt-notes are dated after important events, such as the death or accession of a ruler, "when Asu, king of Luhusaddia had died" (kt n/k 716:12f.), and "when Labarša became king" (ICK 1, 178:2ff.), but they are not helpful for us and in the second case we do not even know which city the king had ruled.

What follows is a list of the festivals and of the moments of the agricultural year which figure as due dates for payments. Which times of the year are meant can be deduced from the annual cycle of seasonal work and from references that show which fruits etc. became available. Several debt-notes record loans consisting of barley and silver, which have to be paid back at different moments, or stipulate payment in instalments. This results in the mention of more than one event or festival, which gives us a clue about their sequence, and there are even a few which mention the week or month when the loan was contracted. The nature of the goods borrowed may also help, since payment of barley loans is usually after the harvest, when the grain has been threshed. Together they offer clues for the sequence and dating of the events mentioned, but in the case of the festivals questions remain. I am not the first to deal with the issues and references have been collected and analyzed in the past by Landsberger, Matouš, Donbaz, and Bayram.<sup>941</sup> The increase of data is helpful, but there are also some new problems, because the neat distribution of four festival over four seasons by Landsberger (1949, 293) is now complicated by references to additional festivals.<sup>942</sup> Since all references are in economic records (debt-notes) we can almost exclude that the transactions recorded took place during the Anatolian winter, and there are indeed no occurrences of *ana kūššim*, "not later than the winter", which presumably was also too vague for a due date, unless there was a particular festival to mark the end of the autumn, the beginning of the winter, or the winter solstice

### 2.1. FESTIVALS

<sup>939</sup> Some of these record significant amounts of silver, e.g. ICK 1, 191:31ff., a commercial debt of 12 minas of silver to be paid at "the coming festival of Pirka".

<sup>940</sup> There are a few exceptions, such as kt f/k 166:5f., payment due *ana tuwār sikkātim*, which hence must have been a datable and predictable event.

<sup>941</sup> Landsberger 1949, 287ff., Matouš 1965, 1980, Bayram 1990, and Donbaz 1988a, 54ff.

<sup>942</sup> Landsberger already had to admit that he could not fit the festival of Tuhtuhani(m) into his scheme.

Payment at the time of the festival of an Anatolian deity are designated simply by *ina/ana ša* + the name of the god, without the use of the word "festival". Because their place in the calendar is uncertain, I present them in alphabetical order. Many of the gods, whose priests or festivals are mentioned, are just names for us and we have to assume that logograms (ISKUR, UTU) and Akkadian names (*Bēlum*, *Bēl qablim*, *Nisaba*, etc.) may hide native Anatolian deities, some of which might be identified with the help of their names in Hittite texts (e.g. Nisaba equal to Halki). But one should also consider the distinction between the various local panthea and the different ethnic strata (Proto-Hattian, Neshite, Luwian) of ancient Anatolia. Some of the names in our list might perhaps be identified with gods of the land of Kanesh mentioned in the "Anitta Text" (e.g. Šiun as sungod, Tarhunna as weathergod), and invoked in the beginning of the treaty with Kanesh (see above ch. V.2.1), which probably also mentions the (deified) mount Erciyes (see above note 812). These are questions the Hittitologists have to answer on the basis of their data on cults and festivals. At any rate, our list does not include a festival of Perwa (also written Parwa, Peruwa, a priest of whom is attested, see above), a god associated with horses, who belonged to the pantheon of Kanesh and appears in many personal names.<sup>943</sup> Of the festivals (*ša DN*) mentioned in our texts only that of Parka (*Pirka*) is still attested in later Hittite texts, where he is known as a god who had a cult in the temple of the grain goddess at Hattuša. But it is by no means certain, as assumed by Haas, that the god Anna, after whom a month was named in one of the ritual calendars of Emar, can be identified with the god Anna of Kanesh.<sup>944</sup> That some gods, such as Higiša, whose priests occur several times, are not represented by their festivals might be due to the cultic calendar, if their festival did not match a suitable payment term correlated with the agricultural season. There is in general a lack of data on the temples of the Anatolian deities, two of which were found on the city-mound of Kanesh<sup>945</sup> and many of whose priests figure as (at times prominent) witnesses in Anatolian contracts (see above § 1.2.3). Temples apparently were not involved in the commercial transactions and therefore do not occur in the texts, with rare exceptions, such as the statement that a payment was accepted in the temple of the weathergod (VS 26, 146:7).

Part of the references listed below are taken from listings by Balkan and in Bayram 1990, where further details and especially information on the nature of the debt (silver or barley, etc.) are usually missing.

1. *Anna*, written *A-na* (passim), *A-na-a* (I 453, tablet), *An-na* (a/k 899a, 1164a), and <sup>d</sup>*A-na* (a/k 1351).

Anna seems to have been the main god of Kanesh, whose temple there is mentioned in kt 87/k 39:25, while priests of him occur in 89/k 376:4 and TC 3, 181:8. Kt n/k 306:5ff. stipulates payment of a debt "when the ruler enters the *kaššum*", to which kt j/k 9:11 adds: "in the temple of Anna". Anna

<sup>943</sup> The statement of Haas 1994, 614, "Die Gruppe der kanisischen Gottheiten sind altkleinasiatisch-kappadokischen Ursprungs, deren Kult die indoeuropäischen Ankömmlinge in Kaniš übernommen haben", claims that the god of Kanesh pre-Hittite/Neshite native Anatolian gods.

<sup>944</sup> See D.E. Fleming, *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals of the Diviner's House* (Winona Lake 2000) 162f. with note 97, on Anna and the various identifications of this god, who may appear as Ana at Ebla.

<sup>945</sup> See Özgüç 1993a.

was invoked in the oath alongside Aššur (ICK 1, 32:11; Prag I 651: 12'ff.)<sup>946</sup> and must be meant by *il Kaniš*, "the god of Kanesh", invoked as witness in kt m/k 7:18f. (courtesy Hecker), *Aššur Amurru u il Kaniš lū ide`ā*. His consort could be *ilat ālim*, "the goddess of the city", mentioned in kt c/k 1340:13f. (where her priest acts as witness), but her identity is unknown.

*Lit.* Matouš 1965, 175ff.; Bayram 1990, 457f.

EL 67:8f. (silver, *ana*); ICK 1, 115:11 (silver, from month IV, *ana*); ICK 2, 4:5 (silver, *ina*, among Assyrians) and 50:3 (silver, *ana*); KKS 6:5 (silver, *ana*); Prag I 552:6 (silver, *ana*); TC 3, 254:11 (redemption of slaves *ana š. A.*); kt a/k 672:6, 811b:6f., 899b:6 (*ana*); 1164b:6f. (silver), 1351:5 (*ina*); AKT 1, 60: 6f. (silver, *ana*); kt f/k 64b:6ff. and 72b:5ff., silver in instalments *iššattim šattim ina ša Anna išaqqulū*.

*Note:* kt m/k 104:10f. payment of silver *ina ša Anna*, of barley *ina harpē*.  
 kt a/k 899b:6f., half of debt *ana harpē*, the other half *ana ša Anna*;  
 kt 93/k 946:23f. silver *ina ša Anna*, grain *ina adrim*;  
 ICK 2, 4:5ff. silver debt, 1/6 *ina ša Anna*, 5/6 *ina ša Nipas*;  
 ICK 2, 5:5f. silver debt, half *ana ša Anna*, half *ana ša Parka*.

## 2 *Bēlum*, "the Lord"

*Lit.* Bayram 1990, 458f.

Kt a/k 335:4//931:10, *a/ina ša Bēlim*, silver owed by *Atali* to Ištār-bašti.

## 3. *Bel qablim*, "Lord of battle", whose priest Inar occurs in kt n/k 32:10.

kt 92/k 1048:5f., silver + sheep owed to priest of Higiša, payment *ina ša b. q.*; kt 92/k 1045:18f.; kt f/k 114:4f; 157b: 9; *ana ša b. q.* in kt 86/k 179:9

## 4. *Harihari*

*Lit.* Matouš 1965, 180.

ICK 1, 24b:7, silver loan among Anatolians, *ana ša Ha-ri-ha-ri tašaqqal*.

## 5. *Nipas*, his temple is attested in kt n/k 1716b:9, see below; in kt a/k 852:9 (Balkan 1992, 23, no. 3), gold "which the *rabi šābim* donated to the son of his lord in the temple of *Nipas*" (*ana mera bēlišu in É Nipas iqišu*); a priest of *Nipas*, Šulili, in kt 88/k 1090:5f. Construed with *ina* and *ana*.

*Lit.* Matouš 1965, 179f., Bayram 1990, 456, note 31.

EL 12:4f., silver (*ēzib Nipas ša illakanni ana šanim ša Nipas*); 45 + CCT 6, 47a:7, silver, Assyrians, *ana š. N.*; 69:12, silver, Assyrians, part *ina š. N.*; EL 217; 16ff., silver, in three annual instalment *ana š. N.*; ICK 1, 10:5, 16, silver and copper, *ina š. N.*; ICK 2, 4:5ff.; a/k 1048:4; 1199:6; b/k 260b:11f., silver, *ina š. N.*; n/k 75:13, silver, remainder of purchase price, *ina ša N.*, kt n/k 1506:6;.

*Note:* kt 86/k 190:9ff. *ištu ša Ni-pā-IS ana ettišunu ina ša Ni-pā-IS išaqqulū*.

ICK 2, 4: 5ff., silver debt, 1/6 *ina ša Anna*, 5/6 *ina ša Nipas*;

kt n/k 1716b: 9f. silver debt, from the week of A. + Š., month IV, payment in one year, "when the ruler leaves the temple of *Nipas*" (*ina bēt Nipas uššiani*; Bayram 1990, 461).

## 6.. *Parka*, written *Pā-ar-kā* (passim), *Pār-kā* (ICK 2, 132:33), *Pi-ir-kā* (v/k 165:12); construed with *ana* and *ina*.

*Lit.* Matouš 1965, 177ff.

ATHE 2: 9 (*ana ša P. ša illakanni*); ICK 1, 16b:5 (silver); 30:13 (gold), 40b:18 (silver); Adana 237E: 4; ICK 1, 191:36f.=2, 130:24' (12 minas of

<sup>946</sup> *nīš Aššur nīš Anna nīš ruba`ē u nīš rabi sikkatim*, where the Assyrian and Kanishite god are paired by the ruler of Assur) and the "commander" of Kanesh.

silver), ICK 2, 132:33 (all three *ina Pirka ša illakanni*); kt f/k 54:6 (silver), 168:8 (*ana*); kt n/k 168:6 (silver, *ana*); kt v/k 165:12 (silver, *i-ša Pi-ir-kā*); kt 87/k 65:14 (silver).

*Note:* ATHE 2, silver loan, month III, payment. within 13 weeks *ana ša Parka*; ICK 1, 40b, payment from the week of *kaššum* within 15 weeks, and at the end: *ina ša Parka išaqqulū*; kt a/k 1110:4-8: payment from the week of E. *ana ša Parka*.

7. *Tuhtuhānum*: written *ana/ina (ša) Tuhtuhāni(m)*

*Lit.* Matouš 1965, 179f.

k/t v/k 166:6f., *ana ša Tuhtuhāni*; f/k 94b:5f. *ina šanīm Tuhtuhānim*,

f/k 65b *ina ša T. kaspam ilqe ina ša T. kaspam utarrū*, month VII;

kt 94/k 1095:6f., silver debt, payment *ana ša Tuhtuhānim*.

*Note:* TC 3, 227 from week of PN<sub>1-2</sub> half *ana Tuhtuhāni*, half in 15 weeks;

ICK 1, 129: 8f. payment *ana Tuhtuhānim*, 13f., additional gifts *ana ša T.*

kt 86/k 153:7ff. silver, month I, week of Kurub-lštar, *ana Tuhtuhāni*;

kt f/k 65b:8ff. silver debt, payment of barley and one sheep (as interest or "Zugabe") *ina šibit niggalli*, of silver *ina ša T.*, month VII.

8. *Usumū*, *ina ša ū-sū-me-e*

*Lit.* Bayram 1990, 459f.

b/k 134a/b:6/10, 2 1/2 mina of silver; kt 94/k 1512:5, silver, debt of an *al-lahhinnum*).

9. <sup>d</sup>UTU: *ina ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU

*Lit.* Balkan 1965b, 168 note 16.

kt c/k 201:5-8, from the week of Enna-Suen they will pay *ina ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU, same creditor and debtors in kt c/k 181:6ff., payment *ana harpē*.

kt 87/k 432:11-13, the capital to be given back *ina ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU.

*Note:* kt 89/k 285:16, payment of 3/8 shekel of silver when "he brought you safely (*šallumum*) to the temple of <sup>d</sup>UTU".

## 2.2. AGRICULTURAL SEASONS

Landsberger 1949, 294, already pointed out that the traditional Turkish designations for the main phases of the agricultural years agree well with those found in our texts. They are: *orak zamanı*, "time of the sickle" = *šibit niggallim*, July/August; *harman zamanı*, "time of the threshing floor" = *adrum*, Aug./Sept.; *bağ bozumu*, "time of the picking of the grapes" = *qitip kerānim*, Sept./Oct.; and *çift zamanı*, "time of the harnessed plough" = *itti erāšim*, Oct./Nov. For the sequence and dates of the various events mentioned in the due dates one may consult Hoffner 1974, ch. II. The designations of the payment terms use four prepositions, the most frequent ones of which, *ana*, "not later than", and *ina*, "on", seem to be used indiscriminately, especially when referring to a festival, which would have taken place on a particular day or days. *Urki/warki*, "after", is rare, and *ištu*, "since", is only used to indicate when a liability had started. In addition they use a temporal phrase with *inūmi* (see below 2.2, nos. 3 and 4) and a prepositional infinitive (*iwwaša Nisaba*). Other variations are between the construct states of verbal nouns (*šibit* and *qitip*) and rare infinitives (*šabāt* and *qatāp*) connected with *niggallum* and *kerānum*, *niggallum* alone, and *miqit niggallim*, "the falling of the sickle".

I offer the payment terms in chronological order, beginning in autumn, with the ploughing of the fields, also because the Old Assyrian calendar must have started in that time of the year, between the time of the autumnal equinox (Sept. 23) and at the time of the



winter solstice (Dec. 21).<sup>947</sup> Some of the terms refer to what we would call seasons, *daš'ū*, "spring", and *harpū*, "summer", which therefore may cover several months, and this explains the occasional use of more precise designations, like *rēš daš'ē*, "the beginning of spring". Others mention specific features, like the picking of the grapes, the harvesting the olives, or the time when the seedlings break the ground, which provide more precise dates and refer to work that took much less time. Only *ana buqlātim* is difficult and we might connect it with *buqlum*, "malt", to make it refer to the time the malt was made, obviously after the harvest, in the summer. But the feminine plural is strange and therefore I follow a suggestion by Stol to start from the basic meaning of *buqūlum*, "green sprouting plants"<sup>948</sup> This could make our expression an equivalent of *daš'ū*, "spring", which refers to its abundant vegetation, but I assume that while the latter refers to vegetation in general and to spring grass, so that *buqlātim* could mean in particular the green sprouts of the barley which break the ground, which would make it an equivalent of the (rare) expressions listed under 4. This is an example of a certain overlap in meaning of the various words, which is also the case with *harpū*, "summer". It comprises the months July-September, which includes the time of the harvest - also designated by the words *ebūrum*, lit. "harvest", and *ešādum*, "to reap, to harvest"<sup>949</sup> - and runs from the "seizing the sickle" until the "gathering (of the stalks or sheaves) on the threshing floor" (*šibit nigallim, erāb adrim*). The verb *erāšum* and the noun *mēraštum* in Akkadian refer to the final "seed ploughing", after deep ploughing (*majāri mahāzum*) and harrowing have been completed. But when used in Anatolia these words probably comprise both the ploughing and the seeding, two activities that together could cover quite some time. "Seeding" is not mentioned, but the occurrence, alongside general *erāšum*, of *ana erāšim wašā'um*, "to start ploughing", and *gamār erāšim*, "the termination of the ploughing", show that one was aware of the time difference and that some writers may have preferred more precise due dates.

1. *qitip kerānim*, "the picking of the grapes", ca. Sept.-Oct., with *ana, ina* and *urki*.  
*ana qitip kerānim*, Ank. 2800:4f.; b/k 54b:5f.; KKS 31b:16 (case); f/k 52:5;  
*ina qitip kerānim*, KKS 31a:13; kt k/k 59:10f. (silver); kt z/t 14; kt 83/k 282:  
5f.; kt 87/k 272:15f.; kt 92/ 1041 (grain);  
*ina qat[āp] kerānim*, kt 92/k 1037 (silver debt);  
*i-qitap kerānim*, kt 93/k 148:13f. (silver, part of mixed debt);  
*urki (qitip) kerānim*, kt m/k 101:6 (silver debt), 87/k 104:9.  
Note: kt k/k 34:16f., kt 87/k 272:14f., barley *ina ebūrim*, silver *ina q. k.*;

<sup>947</sup> The issue of the beginning of the Old Assyrian calendar is difficult, see the observations in Veenhof 2000, 141f. Larsen 1976, 193, considered the winter solstice a more likely moment for the beginning of the calendar.

<sup>948</sup> See *RIA* 7 (1987-90) 323a, where he proposes the meaning "Gemüse".

<sup>949</sup> Landsberger 1949, 287, stated that *ebūrum* in the meaning "summer" is the Babylonian equivalent of *harpū*, and that *ebūrum* in OA should not mean "summer" but "harvest(ing), crop". The latter indeed fits all occurrences listed below (note payment in two instalments, *ina ebūrim* and *ina qitip kerānim*), the expression *mala ebūrišunu*, "as long as they are harvesting" (BIN 4, 44:10f.), and especially the combination *ebūram šērubum* (see *CAD* E 17, 1,a,1', and kt a/k 1060:3 (*ebūmi nušerrab*). It must also apply in kt 89/k 355:2f., *ina ebūrim ana šēr PN allik .....<sup>27</sup> awērma ištu<sup>28</sup> ebūrim šazzutum azziz*, "at harvest time I went to PN ..... I took action and since harvest time I have acted as representative".

kt 93/k 148:8ff., mixed debt, grain *ina ebūrim*, silver *iqqitap kerānim*.

2. *erāšum*, "ploughing (and seeding)", ca. Oct.- Nov., various constructions.

*ina gamār eršim*, AKT 1, 45:4f., when the cultivation is ready;

*ina itti erāšim* TC 3, 240; EL 99, "at the time of cultivation";

*inūmi ana erāšim uššiūni*, n/k 73:11f., silver, "when they go out to cultivate".

*Note*: kt f/k 58:13f., *šumma a-di a-ra-ši-im nūšuni išaqqal*;

*ina mēraštīm*, ATHE 75, "at the time of cultivation".

3. *serdum*, "(the time of) the olives", ca. Oct. - Dec., with *ana*.

*ana serdim*, kt a/k 604b:5f., *ana sé-er-dim panēmma išaqqal*.

4. "the coming up of the sown", late autumn.

*inūmi eršum uššiu*, kt v/k 160:7f., "when the sown comes up";

*i-wa-ša Ni-sà-ba*, kt 87/k 139:6, "when the barley appears".

5. *buqlātum*, the sprouting (of the barley seeds), late autumn (?), with *ana* and *ina*.

*ana buqlātim*, a/k 568:5f.; Prag I 500:6, silver;

*ina ša buqlātim išaqqal*, kt 86/k 198:5, gold debt.

*Note*: kt 86/k 200:9f., *ana ettišu ina buqlātim*, undated silver debt.

6. *daš'ū*, "spring", April - June, *ana/ina daš'ē*, rare.

kt k/k 93, silver, month II, 3 instalments, *šibat niggallim*, *ša Anna*, *ana daš'ē*;

kt 87/k 336, silver, half [*ina da*]š'ē, half *ina qitip kerānim*.

TPAK 98:11f., silver received *ištu daš'ē*, month VII; end: from the week of A.

*Note* (cf. Landsberger 1949, 287, note 124):

*ana daš'ē* kt n/k 1654:7f., *a. d. liddišsum*;

*ana rēš daš'ē* CCT 3, 7a:5, *a. r. d. ašapparakkim*; TTC 14:20, *r. d.*

*ina daš'im/ē* POAT 6:11, *i. daš'ē turdam*; AAA 1 no. 1:7, *libittam ina*

*daš'im uštābin*;

*ina daš'ēsu*<sup>950</sup> BIN 6, 204:40; kt 87/k 453:22, *kima i. d. sikkātunni*.

*ištu daš'ē* JSOR 11 no. 1:11, *i. d. adi harpē*; POAT 8:26, *i. d. ušēbi-*

*lakkum*.

7. *kubur uṭṭitīm*, "when the grain is ripe", end of June - beginning of July, with *ana/ina*.

*ana kubur uṭṭitīm*, kt a/k 1116b:5f.; 1585:5f.; kt v/k 178:8f.; POAT 36:10f.;

*ina kubur uṭṭatīm*, Sadberk 29:7f. (silver debt).

8. *harpū*, "summer", July-Sept., with *ana* and *ina*, *harpū*, *herpū* (once) and *harpum*.

*Note*: *ina harpia* in kt o/k 64:16.

*ana harpē*, kt a/k 801:9f.; 899b:5; 1214:9f.; 1453b:7f.; kt f/k 45:5, 62:

8f, 103:7, 111:6; 184b:13 (silver); kt k/k 9:8 (grain); kt s/k 51:5f., 54:

9f.; kt 86/k 35; kt 88/k 1082 (barley and malt); *ana he-er-pē*, kt 88/k

1087:17;

*ana harpim*, kt f/k 175b:10 (silver); kt o/k 46 (silver and grain); kt n/k 77:11ff.

(silver, two instalments, *ana harpim*, *ana šanīm harpim*; kt 92/k 1047:6;

*ina harpim*, kt o/k 81; *ina harpē*: kt a/k 931b:4ff.; kt b/k 45b:5f.; kt d/k 8a:

18, 24a:10, 48b:10;; kt g/k 12:10; k/k 32:16 grain; 33:14<sup>1</sup> grain;

TPAK 113:13, Anatolian debtors, silver and grain, [*ina*<sup>2</sup>] *harpē*;

kt m/k 103 16, annual instalments *ihharpē ittanaddin*;

*Note*: kt c/k 181:6ff., from the week of E. *ana harpē*;

<sup>950</sup> See for this "situationsdeterminierendes" suffix, Landsberger 1949, 288, and now M. Stol, in: *Studies Hirsch*, 413-24, who states "Der Standort des Sprchers bestimmt die Übersetzung" and suggests that "his" may approach "over there", "that one", but is apt to become frozen. See for a rare OA occurrence of the first person suffis under *harp-u*, where it relates to the creditor who receives the payment.

- kt o/k 39, mixed, month II, barley *ana šibit niggallim*, silver *ana harpē*;  
 kt m/k 104, mixed loan, silver *ina ša Anna*, barley *ina harpē*;  
 kt o/k 44, silver debt, payment from the week of A. *ana harpim*;  
 kt f/k 73, silver, barley as interest *ina harpē*, silver *ina ša Anna*;  
 kt 89/k 310:9ff., silver, month II, three annual installments *ina harpim*.
9. *šibit niggallim*, "seizing the sickle", July, with *ana* and *ina*, with *šibit*, *šabāt* or *šabit niggalli(m)*, also *niggallim* alone, *warki šibit n.*, once *ana miqit n.*  
*ana šibit n.*, kt a/k 810:b:9f.; kt e/k 162:4, 164:7 (silver loan); kt n/k 1727:  
 9; 1858; kt o/k 40:16; AKT 1, 39: 11f.; BIN 4, 208:9; Garelli 1965,  
 no.22:6; KTH 20:8;  
*ana šabāt ni-ga-li*, kt 86/k 162: case 4f., silver *ana šabāt niggalli*;  
*i(na) šibit ni-ga-li*, kt m/k 105, annually one third *ina š. n.*; f/k 65a:5 (silver);  
*i-ša-bi-it ni-gā-li*, f/k 162b:4f. (silver);  
*i(na) niggalli(m)*, a/k 1177:6; kt 86/k 163:5f., *ana ettišunu ina n.*, silver; *El*  
 90:7, silver, among Assyrians, *i-ni-ga-lim*;  
*warki šibit niggallim*, kt a/k 1430b:7-11;  
*ana miqit niggallim*, Prag I 491 + ICK 2, 52 (case), 5 1/2 minas of silver.  
*Note:* o/k 40, mixed loan, "from the week of the *kaššum*, month II, they will  
 give the barley *ana šibit niggallim* and pay the silver *ana harpē*;  
 kt k/k 93, silver debt, month II, first instalment *ana [šabā]t niggallim*,  
 second *ana [ša] Anna*, third *ana daš'ē*.
10. *ešādum*, "harvesting", July-Aug., with *ina*.  
*ina ešādīm*, f/k 129:4, silver loan.  
*Note:* TC 3, 3 22f., *lama mātam ešādum iṣbutu(m)*, "before the land is fully  
 occupied by the harvest".
11. *ebūrum*, "harvest, crop", July-Aug., with *ina*.  
*ina ebūrim*, AKT 1, 79; Garelli-Kennedy 1960a, no.12; kt d/k 19a; kt y/t  
 4:11, mostly grain loans.  
*Note:* kt k/k 34:12-18, kt 87/k 272:14-16, loans of silver and barley, bar-  
 ley to be given *ina ebūrim*, silver to be paid *ina qitip kerānim*.  
 kt 93/k 148, loan of silver and grain, grain to be given *ina ebūrim*, sil-  
 ver to be paid *iqqitap kerānim*.
12. *adrum*, "threshing floor", ca. Aug.-Sept., with *ina*, *ina erāb* / *pahār* / *šapat adrim*.  
*ina adrim*, ICK 1, 93; kt a/k 842:5ff.; kt n/k 1933; kt 86/k 160:7f., [*i/ana*]  
*adrim* grain *ubbulū*; kt 87/k 304:11;  
*ina erāb adrim*, kt z/t 14:7-12, barley "when it arrives at the threshing floor",  
 silver *ina qitip kerānim*;  
*ana pahār adrim*, "not later than it (the barley) is brought together on the thresh-  
 ing floor", kt a/k 1259:8f., kt 94/k 1040:8f. (silver, Assyrians);  
*ina šapat adrim*, kt 87/k 292:17, "at the edge of (for "as soon as it has reach-  
 ed"?) the threshing floor".  
*Note:* kt 93/k 946:23, mixed loan, silver *ina ša Anna*, grain *ina adrim*.
13. *buqūnum*, "the plucking (of the wool)", in late spring, exceptional as the only due  
 date related to husbandry, better known from OB texts, see CAD B, 325, 2,  
 but there usually restricted to wool debts.  
*ana bu-qū-nim išaqqal*, kt 94/k 1149:8 (courtesy Larsen), small silver debt.

## 2.3. INTERPRETATION

Clues for dating the various events and festivals are provided by contracts in which the debts consists of two different commodities with separate payment terms (a), by contracts

which stipulate payment in several instalments (b) and by some contracts which mention months (and weeks) as the date when the liability started (c).

a) *different commodities*

	text	month	barley/grain	silver
1.	kt 87/k 272	--	<i>ebūrum</i>	<i>qitip kerānim</i>
2.	kt k/k 34	--	<i>ebūrum</i>	<i>qitip kerānim</i>
3.	kt 93/k 148	--	<i>ebūrum</i>	<i>qitap kerānim</i>
4.	kt m/k 104	--	<i>harpū</i>	<i>ša Anna</i>
5.	kt 93/k 946	I	<i>ina adrim</i>	<i>ša Anna</i>
6.	ATHE 75	--	<i>harpū</i>	<i>mēraštum</i>
7.	kt o/k 40	II	<i>šibit niggallim</i>	<i>harpū</i>
8.	kt f/k 65	VII	<i>šibit niggallim</i>	<i>ša Tuhtuhānim</i>
9.	kt z/t 14	--	<i>erāb adrim</i>	<i>qitip kerānim</i>

Note that in 4 and 5 the order of payment stipulated in the contract is *ša Anna* - *harpū* / *ina adrim*.

b) *one commodity to be paid in instalments*

	text	month	commodity	instalment 1	instalment 2	instalment 3
10.	kt k/k 93	II	silver	<i>šabāt nigallim</i>	<i>ša Anna</i>	<i>daš'ū</i>
11.	kt 87/k 258	--	silver	<i>harpū</i>	<i>ša Anna</i>	
12.	kt 87/k 336	--	silver	<i>daš'ū</i>	<i>qitip kerānim</i>	
13.	kt a/k 899	--	silver <sup>2</sup>	<i>harpū</i>	<i>ša Anna</i>	
14.	ICK 2,4	--	silver	<i>ša Anna</i>	<i>ša Nipas</i>	
15.	ICK 2, 50	--	silver	<i>ša Anna</i>	<i>ša Parka</i>	

c) *month-names in combination with payment terms*

16.	ATHE 2	silver debt, in month III, payment in 13 weeks (3 months) at Parka's festival.
17.	TPAK 98	silver debt, from <i>daš'ū</i> , month VII, from the week of Ennam-Aššur, year 113.
18.	ICK 1, 40	silver debt, from the week of <i>kaššum</i> , payment in 15 weeks, on Parka's festival.
19.	TC 3, 227	silver debt, from week x, month VII, year 107, half on Tuhtuhānum's festival, half in 15 weeks (after first instalment or from start of transaction?).
20.	kt n/k 1716b	silver debt, from week x, month IV, payment in one year, "when the ruler leaves the temple of Nipas".
21.	kt 86/k 153	silver debt contracted in month I, to be paid <i>ana Tuhtuhāni</i> .
5.	kt 93/k 946	mixed debt, month I, silver <i>ina ša Anna</i> , grain <i>ina adrim</i> .
7.	kt o/k 40	mixed debt, month II, barley <i>ina šibit niggallim</i> , silver <i>ana harpē</i> .

Matouš 1965, 180, tentatively concluded that the order of the festivals, according to the Babylonian spring calendar (months in Roman numerals) would have been:

*Anna ca. I/II Tuhtuhānum ca. III/IV Nipas ca. VII/VIII Parka ca. XI/XII.*

In the Assyrian calendar (month I = Bēlet-ekallim, ca. Oct.-Nov.) this would mean:

*Anna ca. VI/VII Tuhtuhānum ca. VIII/IX Nipas ca. XII/I. Parka ca. IV/V.*

Some festivals are related to the calendar by the mention of the month in which the debt was contracted:

5: month I, silver at Anna's festival, grain at the end of the harvest.

16: month III (+ week),<sup>951</sup> in 3 months at Parka's festival, hence Parka = ca. VI;

20: month IV, payment after a year at Nipas' festival, hence Nipas = ca. IV;

18: month VII, half of debt at Tuhtuhānum's festival, the other half 15 weeks later;

<sup>951</sup> The week-eponym is attested five times, four times during month II and once during month III of eponymy year 93.

The texts under a) betray a pattern of delivering barley in the summer, at the time of the (completion of the) harvest, which falls in the beginning of *harpū*, and paying silver in autumn, at the time of the harvest of the grapes, Sept./Oct. (1-3, 9), but there could of course be exceptions, conditioned by the wishes of creditor and/or debtor. Correlating agricultural dates and features with festivals is to some extent possible, since the latter most probably were also linked with the main events of the agricultural year. This means that they could figure as alternative datings, perhaps used because they offered the advantage of being more precise, thanks to the cultic calendar,<sup>952</sup> since festivals would be held on particular days and generally would last only a short period.

*Šibit niggallim*, the (start of the) harvest, must be the (beginning of the) summer (*harpū*), July, ca. month X, and *erāb adrim*, "when (the barley) comes on the threshing floor", its end, several weeks later, ca. month XI; the two due dates in 7 accordingly should mean the beginning and the end of the harvest. When there are different due dates (but to all appearances still within one year) for silver and grain, *šibit niggallim* is followed by *harpū* and *ša Tuhtuhānim* (7-8), and *erāb adrim* (9) and *ebūrum* (1-3) by *qitip keranim* (Sept./Oct.). The fact that in 4 and 5 payment of silver *ina ša Anna* precedes payment of grain *ina adrim/harpē* must be explained from the date of the debt in 5 (4 does not mention a date), month I; the order of payment suggests that the festival of Anna preceded the harvest, but how long is unknown. Of the texts that demand payment of one commodity in two instalments, only two mention phases of the agricultural year, in 10 the first instalment at the beginning of the harvest, the third in spring (*daš'ū*); in 12 the first instalment is in spring, the second in autumn (*qitip kēranim*). Text 17 shows that the Assyrian month VII fell in "spring" (ca. April-June), which suggests that month I may be equated with Oct./Nov.

These data imply that the main dates for the payment of such loans were the summer, the time of the grain harvest, and the autumn, the time when the grapes were picked. Since at least part of these loans were presumably consumptive ones, payment normally would take place as soon as the debtor had acquired the means to do so from what his harvest had yielded, grain or fruits. The main harvest and therefore due date was that of barley and wheat and this suggests that *harpū*, *ebūrum*, *kubur uṭṭitim*, *šibit niggallim*, *ešādum*, and *adrum* were alternative ways of stipulating that date; the variation may be due to the fact that no fixed terminology (the Assyrian terms could be translations of Anatolian ones) had yet evolved (the sequence *šibit niggallim* - "spring" occurs only in 10). These terms/dates accordingly all refer to July/August. Therefore they are never contrasted or mentioned as alternatives, with the exception of text 7, where the rather vague *harpū* must have meant the end of the summer, after the harvest had been completed, but before the autumn. The second main due date apparently was the autumn, in which two events took place, the picking of the grapes (*qitip kēranim*) and the ploughing and sowing of the fields (*erāšum*, *mērašum*). They did not coincide, the former happened in Sept./Oct., the latter in Oct./Nov. Dozens of loans (also those mentioning only one due date) mention *qitip kēranim*, but references to the cultivation of the fields are much rarer (in all five occurrences) and *mērašum* (in the sequence *harpū* - *mērašum*) occurs only in 6.

Since the main agricultural activities could take many weeks, there apparently occasionally was the wish to be more specific. This was rare with *šibit niggallim*, though the harvest may have taken several weeks, and we have only once "after the handling of the sickle". We also have only "after the picking of the grapes", hardly a chronological distinction, the picking of the grapes presumably did not require much time. The unique "at (the time of) the olives" could be a further chronological specification, but it is too rare to draw conclusions. The various expressions using *adrum*

<sup>952</sup> With festival the preposition *ina* is more frequent than *ana*.

do not imply chronological differences, but in connection with the cultivation of the field (*ērāšum*, see above § 2.2.2) one may differentiate between its beginning ("when one goes out to plough") and its end ("when the ploughing is finished"), which could be alternative dates, depending on how much time this work required. However, since ploughing did not yield something that could be used to pay one's debts, the chronological distinction may have been of minor importance. The date *ana/ina buqlātim* is to rare and too ill-defined to draw chronological conclusions, but "the plucking of the wool" (*ana buqūnim*) and "when the sown/the grain comes up/appears", datable to late spring and late autumn, may refer to specific, but anyhow not very common times of payment.

The next question is how these agricultural dates relate to those named after religious festivals, and how the former can help us to fix or approach the dates of the latter, many of which, to all appearances, must also have been related to the phases and main events of the agricultural year. The data of table a) and b) provide a few clues: a comparison of various columns suggests that the festival of Anna took place after the summer, somewhere in autumn, and this fits text 10, which places it between the summer and the spring. "Autumn" implies two possibilities, the time of the plucking of the grapes (Sept./Oct.) and that of ploughing (Oct./Nov.), and the choice is difficult. One of the two presumably should be reserved for the festival of Tuhtuhānum, which according to text 8 also fell after the summer. Its position in (late?) autumn would fit the information of 18 (several months after month VII) and, in a general way, of 21 (dated to month I), if the credit term was at least ten months. Table b) also indicates that the festivals of Nipas and Parka were later than that of Anna and the autumn, presumably somewhere between early spring and summer, which is confirmed by 16 of table c). This table is helpful in mentioning in which month and week a debt started, but unfortunately we cannot narrow down these dates, since we do not know which part of the month the week-eponyms mentioned in 18-20 covered. Moreover, there is still uncertainty when the Assyrian calendar started, at the time of the autumnal equinox or at that of the winter solstice (Larsen prefers the latter). Anyhow, 16 makes it clear that Parka's festival fell in month VI, which fits the sequence of text 15. If we assume that the visit of the ruler to the temple of Nipas, mentioned in 20, took place during this (annual) festival, the credit term of one year would fix it in month IV, before the festival of Parka. Texts 18 and 19 are less helpful, because we do not know whether in case of payment in several instalments their length was the same or not (both are attested in Assyrian debt-notes that give these periods in weeks). Differences in the length of the instalments could be due to the time when the liability started, the wish to have the money back at a particular tim, or personal circumstances. If in 19 (month VII) the first term was also 15 weeks, Tuhtuhānum's festival should be placed in month XI/X, and the loan of 21 (of month I) would have run for at least eight to nine months. If not, this festival could have been earlier or later, and later is preferable considering the likely dates of the festivals of Nipas and Parka and because of the sequence "harvest" – Tuhtuhānum in 8, which suggests a festival after the summer. Most references are to the festival of Anna, for which texts 4-5, 10-11 and 13 suggest the (late) autumn. The only problem, as mentioned above, might be 5, where this festival precedes the harvest, but we may assume (also because the order of the payments is unusual) that it deals with a debt contracted at the end of the previous calendar year with a credit term of perhaps nine to ten months.

On the basis of these data, considerations and uncertainties, taking into account that festivals during the Anatolian winter (months III-V) are less likely as payment dates, I suggest the following sequence and dates for the main festivals:

<i>festival of</i>	<i>month</i>	<i>agricultural season</i>
Anna	ca. Oct./Nov.	late autumn

Nipas'	ca. March/April	beginning of spring
Parka	ca. May/June	summer and grain harvest
Tuhtuhānum	ca. Sept./Oct.	harvest of fruits.

This concerns only the most frequently mentioned and therefore presumably most important and as payment terms most suitable festivals. Several others (§ 2.1 nos. 2-4 and 8-9), though rarely mentioned, also occur as due dates and have to be fitted into the calendar, which makes my reconstruction hypothetical. We need more data to discover whether the (rare) occurrences of the latter are explainable from their seasonal dates, or were due to regional variation or to the specific wishes or affiliations of creditors and debtors. The publication of more Anatolian debt-notes with due dates of the type analyzed here, especially those from the archives of Anatolian moneylenders and business-men (Peruwa, Šuppiahšu, Šarapunuwa, etc.) will certainly allow us to reach more certainty.

My concern, here and in other tables and lists, has been to register and arrange the data now available in order to present and discuss a framework into which the new data we may expect from the publication of thousands of still unpublished "Kültepe texts" can be fitted.

## VI. ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. Abbreviations

Abbreviations for editions of cuneiform texts, series and journals are those used in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol 17/III (Chicago 1992), v-xii, but note:

AKL	The Assyrian King List, as edited in Grayson 1981.
AKT 1-3	<i>Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri</i> = <i>Ankaraner Kültepe Texte</i> , I, Ankara, 1990; II, Ankara, 1995; III, Stuttgart 1995.
AMMY	<i>Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı</i> (Ankara 1986ff.).
AOATT	K.R. Veenhof, <i>Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology</i> , SD 10, Leiden 1972.
ArAn	<i>Archivum Anatolicum</i> , Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
CMK	Texts translated in Michel 2001, quoted by number.
CRRAI 34	<i>XXXIV<sup>ème</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, 6-10/VII/1987, Istanbul. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler</i> , TTKY XXVI/3, Ankara 1998.
CRRAI 38	D. Charpin-F. Joannès (eds.), <i>La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien</i> , CRRAI 38, Paris 1992.
CRRAI 39	H. Waetzoldt-H. Hauptmann, <i>Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. XXXIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6.-10. Juli 1992</i> , Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 6, Heidelberg 1997.
CRRAI 40	K.R. Veenhof (ed.), <i>Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia</i> , CRRAI 40, Istanbul 1997.
CTMMA	I. Starr (ed.), <i>Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , Vol. 1. <i>Tablets, Cones and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia</i> , New York 1988, 92-142, nos. 71-98, Old Assyrian Texts, by M. Trolle Larsen.
DTCFD	<i>Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi</i> (Ankara).
EL	G. Eisser - J. Lewy, <i>Altassyrische Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe</i> , I-II, <i>MVAeG</i> 30, 35/3, Leipzig 1930, 1935.
GKT	<i>Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte</i> , see under Hecker 1968.
Prag I + number	Siglum by with the texts edited in Hecker e.a. 1998 are quoted.
ICH	International Congress for Hittitology. I. <i>Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, 19-21 Temmuz, Çorum, 1990</i> , Çorum (without date). II. <i>Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hititologia, Pavia 1993</i> , Pavia 1995. III. <i>Uluslararası 3. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 1996</i> , Ankara 1998. IV. G. Wilhelm (ed.), <i>Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg 1999</i> , StBoT 45, Wiesbaden 2001.
KKS	L. Matouš - M. Matoušová-Rajmová, <i>Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit Siegeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität in Prag</i> , Prag 1984.
kt a (etc.)/k	Sigla of texts from Kültepe (kt) found in <i>kārum</i> Kanish (/k) from 1948 (=a) until 1972 (=z).
kt 73(etc.) /k	Kültepe tablets found since 1973 in <i>kārum</i> Kanish.
kt .. /t	Kültepe tablets found on the city-mound (tepe).
MEC	Mari Eponym Chronicle, edited by Birot 1985.
POAT	W.C. Gwaltney Jr., <i>The Pennsylvania Old Assyrian texts</i> , HUCA Supplement 3, Cincinnati 1983.
RIMA 1	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods</i> , vol. 1. A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)</i> , Toronto 1987.
RIME 4	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods</i> , vol. 4. D. R. Frayne, <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)</i> , Toronto 1990.
OA	Old Assyrian.
OAA	<i>Old Assyrian Archives</i> . Leiden 2002f.
OAAS	<i>Old Assyrian Archives. Studies</i> . Leiden 2003f.
Sadberk	V. Donbaz, <i>Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde Bulunan Çiviyazılı Belgeler</i> , İstanbul 1999.



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<i>Studies Larsen</i>	J.G. Dercksen (ed.), <i>Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen</i> , PIHANS 100, Leiden 2004.
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TPAK	C. Michel-P. Garelli, <i>Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe</i> , 1 (Kt 90/k), Paris 1997.
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından (Publications of the Turkish Historical Society), Ankara

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NB. Several publications by the same author in the same year are distinguished by adding the letters a, b, etc., in which have followed the system of C. Michel's bibliography (below, Michel 2003c, with a first supplement to be published in *AfO* 51, 2005/6), also when I do not list them all, so that certain letters are missing in my list. In her lists of tablets these abbreviations are used to indicate where texts are published, studied or quoted and by consulting them reader of this volume can easily find information on texts quoted in this volume only by excavation or publication number. Note that the edition of the eponym list, Veenhof 2002 in Michel 2003c, due to the time of its publication is listed below as Veenhof 2003.

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